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THE

COMPLETE WORKS OF GEORGE HERBERT.

VOL. III. PROSE.

WALTON'S LIFE OF HERBERT; WITH APPENDICES AND NOTES.
A PRIEST TO THE TEMPLE, AND PRAYERS; WITH APPENDICES:
(*a*) A VIEW OF THE LIFE AND VERTUES OF THE AUTHOUR AND EXCELLENCIES OF THIS BOOK, BY ARCHDEACON OLEY;
(*b*) PREFACE TO THE CHRISTIAN READER (IBID.);
(*c*) ADVERTISEMENT (IBID.); (*d*) NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.
LETTER TO NICHOLAS FERRAR ON VALDESSO'S
DIVINE CONSIDERATIONS; WITH NOTES ON THE CONSIDERATIONS.
CORNARUS ON TEMPERANCE AND SOBRIETY, TRANSLATED BY HERBERT.
JACULA PRUDENTUM; OR OUTLANDISH PROVERBS, SENTENCES, &c.
ORATIONS IN LATIN: TRANSLATED.
COLLECTED LETTERS: LATIN TRANSLATED.
GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

LONDON:
ROBSON AND SONS, PRINTERS, PANCRAS ROAD, N.W.

The Fuller Worthies' Library.

THE COMPLETE WORKS

IN VERSE AND PROSE

OF

GEORGE HERBERT.

FOR THE FIRST TIME FULLY COLLECTED AND COLLATED WITH THE ORIGINAL AND EARLY EDITIONS AND MSS. AND MUCH ENLARGED WITH

I. HITHERTO UNPRINTED AND INEDITED POEMS AND PROSE FROM THE WILLIAMS MSS. ETC.
II. TRANSLATION OF THE WHOLE OF THE LATIN AND GREEK VERSE AND LATIN PROSE.
III. MEMORIAL-INTRODUCTION, ESSAY ON LIFE AND WRITINGS, AND NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.
IV. IN QUARTO, PORTRAITS ON STEEL, AND OTHER SPECIALLY-PREPARED ILLUSTRATIONS AND FACSIMILES.

Edited by the

REV. ALEXANDER B. GROSART,
ST. GEORGE'S, BLACKBURN, LANCASHIRE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III. PROSE.

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1874.
106 *copies only.*

COLL · REG · OXON
BIBL

TO

BRINSLEY NICHOLSON, Esq. M.D.

WOODLANDS ROAD, REDHILL;
DEPUTY INSPECTOR-GENERAL IN THE ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT;
ETC. ETC. ETC.

I dedicate

THIS FIRST COMPLETE COLLECTION OF THE

PROSE WORKS OF GEORGE HERBERT,

AS A MEMORIAL OF

VERY PLEASANT LITERARY CORRESPONDENCE AND

UNITED RESEARCH IN AND CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF

OUR ELDER LITERATURE.

GRATEFULLY AND SINCERELY,

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

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PREFACE.

I HAVE the satisfaction of furnishing in the present considerable volume as complete a collection of the PROSE WRITINGS of GEORGE HERBERT as in Vols. I. and II. it was my privilege to do of his Verse; while in an accompanying volume there is given a more accurate edition than any hitherto of Christopher Harvey's 'Synagogue, or Shadow of The Temple,' which the usage and reverence of fully two hundred and thirty years have associated with 'The Temple,' together with his vivid and memorable sacred poems in the same vein entitled 'Schola Cordis.'

Our text of the Prose, as of the Verse, is a reproduction in integrity of the original and early editions—these and MSS. having been carefully collated and re-collated. The Life of Herbert by Walton, and 'A Priest to the Temple,' and indeed all, have suffered from the tinkerings and so-called 'improvements' of early and recent editors. These have been removed inexorably. Prefixed to each portion is a Note giving account of its source; and in related Notes and Illustrations everything else requiring it, will be found (it is believed) adequately noticed. The Orations and Latin Letters have been translated *for the first time* herein; and I owe this additional kindness to my excellent friend the Rev. RICHARD WILTON, M.A., of Londesborough. The task was a somewhat barren and

irksome one, but was undertaken and has been 'done' as a 'labour of love.'

The Illustrations (in quarto form) cannot fail to prove acceptable. The steel-plate Portrait of Izaak Walton, after the original by Housman, first engraved for Sir Harris Nicolas's sumptuous edition of 'The Complete Angler' (Pickering), seemed to me somewhat heavy and opaque. Accordingly, instead of accepting Messrs. Routledge's generous offer of a sufficient number of impressions from that engraving, I deemed it preferable to have the noble head of 'meek Walton' engraved afresh for myself. The result makes me rejoice that I so decided. The others —anastatic etchings—speak for themselves.

I would now and here make an important correction of a biographical date, that henceforward the error may be put right. In Vol. I. p. lxiii. (footnote) I promised to investigate the hitherto-accepted date of Herbert's death or rather interment, '3d day of March 1632.' I was led to doubt this from three things: (*a*) the date of the Letter to Nicholas Ferrar on Valdesso, which is '29th September 1632;' (*b*) the Will of Dorothy Vaughan, daughter of Herbert's sister Margaret, and so his niece, which was 'proved' in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 9th October 1632 by George Herbert as the appointed executor, who had been 'sworn' by commission before Nathaniel Bostocke, Clerk—Herbert's curate—the 'commission' being accounted for, no doubt, by the fragility of the executor's health; (*c*) Herbert's own Will, wherein a legacy to himself of 100*l.* by his niece is disposed of as being in his possession. It is clear as day from these later dates in 1632, that '3d March 1632' means our 1633. The accepted date of 1632 originated with the Bemerton Register-entry. For reasons that will appear immediately, the entries preceding and succeeding, and the entry of Herbert's interment itself, are given *verbatim et literatim:*

Ann 1633
Buried was the widow Smith 5 of February
William Ellyott the younger was buried viij March
Mr. George Herbert Esqr Parson of Fugglestone
and Bemerton buried the 3d day of
March 1632
Richard Pirmmett was buried
xxij of June
An. Dom.
1634 Edith Bacon the wife of
John Bacon was buried iiij January
1634

A glance at these entries shows that they were made irregularly, as probably suited the writer's memory or convenience: and though apparently he used to reckon as a rule from January to January, the old scribe in adding the year in the Herbert entry seems to have slid into the old mode of reckoning from 25th March, whereby our 3d March 1633 would be 3d March 1632. It will be noticed that in addition to all this, as Edith Bacon's burial belongs to 1634, the presumption would have been that Herbert's and Pirmmett's belonged to the immediately preceding year, *i. e.* 1633, while Herbert's follows one belonging to 1633, not 1632.

There is no date in the Bodleian or Williams MSS., and the MS. date of 1632, inserted in the undated edition of 'The Temple,' does not conflict with the printed one of 1633, if the double reckoning be regarded—that is, that it would be 1632 up to 25th March, or some weeks after his death. These Facts of the letter-date to Nicholas Ferrar, and the 'proving' of the Will of his niece, and disposal of the received legacy, render 3d March 1632 an impossibility. It is unfortunate that neither Dorothy Vaughan's Will nor Herbert's is dated, the latter being simply 'Ao. Do. 1632,' and proved 12th March 1632, *i. e.* 1632-3, or in modern chronology 1633: but that we must place Herbert's death at end of February or on 1st March 1633,

there can be no question now. Further, Walton was mistaken in stating that the 'three nieces' were with Herbert at the time of his death. Two were, but Dorothy, as above, predeceased him.

Another matter seems worthy of being preserved, viz. that contemporaneously with Herbert's composition of his 'Priest to the Temple' or 'Country Parson,' Thomas Nash ('Philopolitem') had in the press his 'Qvaternio or a Fovre-fold Way to a Happie Life; set forth in a Dialogue betweene a Countryman and a Citizen, a Divine and a Lawyer;' wherein is given such a portraiture of a genuine 'Country Parson' as must have drawn forth Herbert's praise and gratitude. The date on the title-page of this rare and all but unknown quarto is 1633; but it is possible, and I think probable, that it may have been issued in 1632. I say so, because throughout there are constantly occurring things that recall parallels in The Church Porch and in the 'Priest to the Temple,' as it were easy to show. I cannot deny myself the pleasure of reproducing a pretty long extract from the description of the 'Country Parson,' as follows:

'You .... say that in your city you haue more conduits, ten for one, to convey comfort to the soule than we haue in the countrey. I grant it; but take this with you, that as one good horse is to be preferred before ten restie jades, one good hawke before ten bangling buzzards, one true hunting dog before ten stragling curres, so one learned painefull pastor before ten ignorant careles ones. It is true in our great parish wee haue but one, but such a one as I dare compare to ten of yours, being learned, sober, and honest, and which doth adde a lustre to them all, as hospitable as his meanes will giue him leaue, yet hating tippling as the bane of religion; he preacheth duely once a weeke, every Sabbath in the morning, catechiseth in the afternoone. Yea, indeede he preacheth every day in the weeke, yea, every houre in the day, every

action of his being a precept vnto vs, every word an oracle ; what he saith at the table we belieue as if we heard him in the pulpit, so faithfull is he in his words, so honest and just in his conversation. Once a yeare he taketh an occasion to performe his filiall rights vnto his father, and to absent himselfe from vs for the space of some few weekes ; during all which time every houre seemes a day and every day a moneth to vs his parishioners, no man enjoying himselfe because they cannot enjoy him ; and at his returne, happie is the man that can haue the honour first to entertaine him. And, indeede, I dare say there is no loue lost, and that our longing is not so much after him as his is after vs, so happie are wee in him for our soules' health. So that we finde it verified in him that it is not the multitude of shepheards which make the sheepe thriue, but the diligence of the shepheards to whom the flocke are committed ; and the more sensible are wee of this our happines in this our pastor, by reason we see in what discontentments our neighbouring parishioners liue in ; what suits and contentions are between their pastor and them ; how often he comes and sends for an egge or an apple, and will rather loose the best of his parish than loose one of them, vpon this pretence that he hath a familie, and "he that provides not for it is worse than an infidell :" though indeede the provision be for the patron, who did not giue but grant (beshrow him for it !) that which he should haue given, of which they his parishioners are too sensible, and grone vnder the burthen of it, having the same measure measured vnto them as the patron measured vnto him. Whereas we never heare of any such thing ; those poore "tythes of mynt and cummin" our pastor lookes not after, onely desires an acknowledgement of his right vnto them ; which we most willingly condescend vnto ; and thereby he looseth nothing ; for whereas there is but one often due to him, wee doe requite him for those small curtesies ten for one, and more wee would doe

if he would accept it; so doth he winne vs by his sweete and affable conversation among vs. Marry, I know not what he would doe if he had such a familie, or patron, as our neighbouring parishioners say their pastor hath. But indeed he hath no other spouse then the Church, nor other children then the poore, for whom hee doth as carefully provide as if shee lay in his bosome and [they] were the naturall-begotten children of his own body. And as for our church, I dare compare it with your mother-church in your metropolis; that shee [=St. Paul's] is not so beautified without nor adorned within as our little parish church is. No sooner can a storme deface any part of it, but every one runs as readily to repayre it as to extinguish a fire; no sooner can age seize vpon it, but every one addes-to a pillar to support it; no sooner can a mote come into her glassie eyes, but every man is readie to pull it out; we deferre not the time vntill it be too late. When sight is gone, there is no neede of an occulist; when death hath levelled the body with the dust, no vse of the physitian. Wherefore wee kill the cocatrice whilest it is but an egge, and quench the flame whilest it is but a sparke; we suffer not her dores at all houres in the day to lye open, neither will we admit her to be a throw-fare for every man to passe. It was not instituted for the peripateticke to measure his paces in, nor for the broker to make it his renduvous; if they come there at the time of divine service and tread vpon it as vpon holy ground, there they are admitted; if not, there is no place for them. So carefull are wee of our little parish-church' (pp. 19-21).

Further, with reference to the fine close of The Church Porch:

> 'If thou do ill, the joy fades, not the pains;
> If well, the pain doth fade, the joy remains,' (st. lxxvii.)

in addition to the note on the place (Vol. I. pp. 272-3), I gather the following from Nash's 'Qvaternio:' 'Let vs

seriously take into our considerations the shortnesse of this life and the durable estate of the life to come. Let vs assure ourselves what a queene of England once writ to one of her maidens of honour is most true :

> "That if in vertue wee take any paines,
> The paines departeth, but vertue remaines;
> But if wee take pleasure to doe that is ill,
> The pleasure departeth, but the ill tarrieth still."'

On the margin opposite is this note : 'This or to this effect haue I seene written with the queene's owne hand, and her name to it subscribed, with this perswasive intreatie : "Good madam, for my sake remember this. It is to be seene in a manuscript sometimes Prince Henrie's, given to the Vniversity Library in Oxon by Mr. Connock, and remaineth in the custodie of my good friend Mr. Rous' (p. 108). It is to be wished that something were known of this Thomas Nash, 'Philopolitem,' who, of course, could not be Gabriel Harvey's renowned antagonist.

Fuller (Ch. H. *s.n.*) quotes one line of an epitaph by Herbert on the Prince of Wales, as follows :

> 'Ulteriora timens cum morte paciscitur Orbis.'

He pronounces it felicitously untranslatable. A Friend hazards this :

> 'Dreading what lies beyond Life's latest breath,
> The round world strikes a bargain here with death.'

Query : Is the meaning that the World gives its most precious thing to Death in the Prince, to purchase exemption for all others? Fuller adduces no authority; nor have I traced it in any of the Collections.

And now, while remembering the maxim of Coke—'Iniquum est aliquem rei sui esse judicem'—I venture to hope that I have done something to revive and preserve

the Works and memory of one of the most saintly of England's Worthies—George Herbert.

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

Park View, Blackburn, Lancashire,
July 4, 1874.

NOTE.

Will the Reader be pleased to correct these oversights? In Vol. I. p. 32, l. 4, for 'found' read 'sound;' p. 130, l. 20, for 'favour' read 'savour'=knowledge; p. 134, l. 56, for 'to' read 'do;' p. 146, l. 17, insert 'our' after 'have;' p. 154, l. 19, insert 'as' after 'ev'n'; p. 167, l. 53, read 'And while,' &c.; p. 215, l. 21, omit 'the;' l. 29, for 'comfort' read 'consort;' p. 291, note on 57, for ρυλλα read φυλλα; in Vol. II. p. 18 (closing lines), read for 'Babel's, but' 'Babel's butt,' *i.e.* Charles II., the 'Defender of the Faith,' our 'most religious king,' a butt or mark for the shafts of the Church of Rome. See Postscript at end of this volume for others. G.

I.

IZAACK WALTON'S

LIFE OF GEORGE HERBERT.

WITH

APPENDICES, AND NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

(1670.)

NOTE.

The Life of George Herbert by Izaack Walton has hitherto been reprinted from the collected Lives, of which Wordsworth sang:

> 'There are no colours in the fairest sky
> So fair as these; the feather, whence the pen
> Was shaped, that traced the Lives of these good men,
> Dropt from an angel's wing: with moisten'd eye
> We read of faith, and purest charity,
> In statesman, priest, and humble citizen.
> Oh! could we copy their mild virtues, then
> What joy to live, what happiness to die!
> Methinks their very names shine still and bright,
> Satellites turning in a lucid ring
> Around meek Walton's heavenly memory.'

A careful collation of the original separate Life (1670) with that of the 'Lives,' satisfied me that so to do is to lose something for Herbert and Walton alike, seeing that there is an unaffected simpleness and graciousness and ease of style and concinnity throughout in the first form of the Life, that were considerably departed from in the subsequent editions. As it seems to me, Walton in revising altered repeatedly to the worse, and inserted bits without sufficiently harmonising them with the context. Accordingly I have returned upon the original text of 1670, reproducing it faithfully, except in a few of his additions of fact and corrections placed within brackets [], and recorded in the Notes. In order that the after-alterations may be readily studied, they are given in Appendix A, *id est*, all of any moment; for it would have been mere pedantry to mark the change of 'of' for 'to,' 'also' for 'likewise,' &c. The figures (1), (2), &c. refer to these various-readings and additions. In Appendix B, I bring together other notices of Herbert by Walton. In Notes and Illustrations, at the close of these Appendices, I correct in part and in part further elucidate matters of fact and noticeable things. The figures [1], [2], &c. refer to these. The original title-page (with 'Imprimatur' on verso) is given opposite. The Letters therein referred to will be found in their respective places in the collection of Herbert's Letters; those of Dean Donne, in Appendix C to Life. In Appendix D, I add Poems in honour of Herbert and Walton. On the Portrait which was prefixed to the Life (1670), see Note in Vol. II. p. lxvii.

G.

THE LIFE

of

Mr GEORGE HERBERT.

Written by *Izaack Walton.*

To which are added some

LETTERS

Written by

Mr. George Herbert, at his being in *Cambridge:* with others to his Mother, the Lady *Magdalen Herbert:* Written by *John Donne*, afterwards Dean of St *Pauls.*

WISDOM OF SOLOM. 4. 10.

He pleased God, and was beloved of him: so that whereas he lived among sinners, he translated him.

LONDON,

Printed by *Tho: Newcomb*, for *Rich: Marriott.*

Sold by most Booksellers. M.DC.LXX.

[Sm. 8vo.]

Imprimatur.

April 21. 1670. Sam: Parker *Reverendissimo in Christo Patri ac Domino, Domino Gilberto Archi-ep:* Cantuar: *à Sac: Domest.*[1]

[1] Bp. Samuel Parker, immortalised by the wit of Marvell in 'The Rehearsal Transpros'd.' See his Works (our edition, vol. iii.). G.

TO HIS VERY WORTHY AND MUCH-HONOURED FRIEND

MR. IZAACK WALTON,

Upon his excellent Life of Mr. George Herbert.

1.

Heav'n's youngest son, its Benjamin,
Divinity's next brother, Sacred Poesie,
No longer shall a virgin reck'ned be—
    Whateere with others 'tis—by me,
        A female Muse, as were the Nine;
        But, full of vigour masculine,
An essence male, with angels his companions shine:
With angels first the heavenly youth was bred;
And, when a child, instructed them to sing
The praises of th' immortal King,
    Who Lucifer in triumph led.
For as in chains the monster sank to hell,
And tumbling headlong down the precipice fell,

By him first taught, 'How art thou fallen, thou morning star!' they said;
Too fondly, then, we' have fancy'd him a maid—
We, the vain brethren of the rhyming trade;
A female angel less would Urbin's skill upbraid.

[Raphael Urbin, the famous painter.

II.

Thus 'twas in heav'n: this, Poesy's sex and age;
And when he thence t'our world came down,
He chose a form more like his own,
And Jesse's youngest son inspir'd with holy rage.
The sprightly shepherd felt unusual fire,
And up he took his tuneful lyre;
He took it up, and struck't, and his own soft touches did admire.
Thou, Poesie, on him didst bestow
Thy choicest gift—a honor shew'd before to none;
And, to prepare his way to th' Hebrew throne,
Gav'st him thy empire and dominion,—
The happy land of verse, where flow
Rivers of milk, and woods of laurel grow,
Wherewith thou didst adorn his brow,
And mad'st his first more flourishing and triumphant crown.
Assist me thy great prophet's praise to sing,
David the poet's and bless'd Israel's king;

And with the dancing echo let the mountains ring:
Then on the wings of some auspicious wind
Let his great name from earth be rais'd on high,
And in the starry volume of the sky
A lasting record find:
Be with his mighty psaltery joyn'd,
Which, taken long since up into the air
And call'd the Harp, makes a bright constellation there.

III.

Worthy it was to be translated hence,
And there in view of all exalted hang;
To which so oft the princely prophet sang,
And mystick oracles did dispence.
Though, had it still remain'd below,
More wonders of it we had seen,
How great the mighty Herbert's skill had been!
Herbert, who could so much without it do;
Herbert, who did its chords distinctly know
More perfectly than any child of verse below.
O had we known him half so well!
But then, my friend, there had been left for you
Nothing so fair and worthy praise to do,
Who so exactly all his story tell,
That though he did not want his bayes,
Nor all the monuments vertue can raise,
Your hand he did to eternize his praise.

Herbert and Donne again are joyn'd
Now here below, as they're above.
These friends are in their old embraces twin'd;
And since by you the enterview's design'd,
Too weak to part them Death does prove;
For in this book they meet again, as in one heav'n they love.

SAM. WOODFORDE.*

Bensted, April 3, 1670.

* Born 1636, died 1700. To be gratefully remembered for what he did in carefully transcribing MSS. of Sir Philip Sidney. See our SIDNEY. His own verse-attempts have long passed into oblivion. G.

THE LIFE

OF

MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

THE INTRODUCTION.

In a late retreat from the business of this world, and those many little cares with which I have too often incumbred myself, I fell into a contemplation of some of those historical passages that are recorded in Sacred Story; and more particularly of what had past betwixt our blessed Saviour and that wonder of women and sinners and mourners, Saint Mary Magdalen. I call her Saint, because I did not then, nor do now, consider her as when she was possest with seven devils;[1] not as when her wanton eyes and disheveld hair were designed and managed to charm and insnare amorous beholders. But I did then, and do now, consider her as after she had exprest a visible and sacred sorrow for her sensualities; as after those eyes had wept such a flood of penitential tears as did wash, and that hair had wip't, and she most passionately kist the feet of hers and our blessed Jesus. And I do now consider that because she lov'd much, not only much was forgiven her, but that, beside that blessed blessing of having her sins pardoned, [and the joy of knowing

her happy condition (1)], she also had from Him a testimony that her alablaster[2] box of precious oyntment poured on His head and feet, and that spikenard, and those spices that were by her dedicated to embalm and preserve His sacred body from putrefaction, should so far preserve her own memory, that these demonstrations of her sanctified love and of her officious[3] and generous gratitude should be recorded and mentioned wheresoever His Gospel should be read; intending thereby that as His so her name should also live to succeeding generations, even till time itself shall be no more.

Upon occasion of which fair example I did lately look back, and not without some content (at least to myself), that I have endeavour'd to deserve the love and preserve the memory of my two deceased friends, Dr. Donne and Sir Henry Wotton, by declaring the various (2) employments and accidents of their lives. And though Mr. George Herbert (whose life I now intend to write) were to me a stranger as to his person—[for I have only seen him](3)—yet since he was, and was worthy to be, their friend, and very many of his have been mine, I judge it may not be unacceptable to those that knew any of them in their lives, or do now know [them by mine or] their [own] writings (4), to see this conjunction of them after their deaths; without which, many things that concern'd them, and some things that concern'd the age in which they liv'd, would be less perfect, and lost to posterity.

For these reasons I have undertaken it; and if I have prevented any abler person, I beg pardon of him and my reader.

THE LIFE.

GEORGE HERBERT was born the third day of April in the year of our Redemption 1593. The place of his birth was near to the town of Montgomery, and in that castle that did then bear the name of that town and county.[4] That castle was then a place of state and strength, and had been successively happy in the family of the Herberts, who had long possesst it; and with it a plentiful estate, and hearts as liberal to their poor neighbours;—a family that hath been blest with men of remarkable wisdom, and with a willingness to serve their countrey, and, indeed, to do good to all mankind,—for which they were eminent. But, alas, this family did in the late Rebellion suffer extremely in their estates; and the heirs of that castle saw it laid level with that earth that was too good to bury those wretches that were the cause of it.[5]

The father of our George was Richard Herbert, the son of Edward Herbert, knight, the son of Richard Herbert, knight, the son of the famous Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, in the county of Monmouth,

banneret, who was the youngest brother of that memorable William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, that liv'd in the reign of our King Edward the Fourth.

His mother was Magdalen Newport, the youngest daughter of Sir Richard, and sister to Sir Francis Newport of High Arkall, in the county of Salop, knight, and grandfather of Francis Lord Newport, now Comptroller of his Majesty's houshold. A family that for their loyalty have suffered much in their estates, and seen the ruine of that excellent structure, where their ancestors have long liv'd, and been memorable for their hospitality.

This mother of George Herbert (of whose person, wisdom, and vertue I intend to give a true account in a seasonable place) was the happy mother of seven sons and three daughters; which, she would often say, was Job's number [and Job's distribution (5)]; and as often bless God that they were neither defective in their shapes nor in their reason; and often (6) reprove them that did not praise God for so great a blessing. I shall give the reader a short accompt of their names, and not say much of their fortunes.

Edward, the eldest, was first made Knight of the Bath at that glorious time of our late Prince Henrie's being install'd Knight of the Garter; and after many years' useful travel, and the attainment of many languages, he was by King James sent ambassador resident to the then French King Lewis XIII. There he

continued about two years; but he could not subject himself to a compliance with the humours of the Duke de Luines,[6] who was then the great and powerful favourite at court; so that upon a complaint to our king he was call'd back into England in some displeasure; but at his return he gave such an honourable account of his employment, and so justified his comportment to the duke and all the court, that he was suddenly sent back upon the same embassie, from which he return'd in the beginning of the reign of our good King Charles I., who made him first Baron of Castle Island, and not long after of Cherberie, in the county of Salop. He was a man of great learning and reason, as appears by his printed book *De Veritate*, and by his *History of the Reign of King Henry VIII.*, and by several other tracts.[7]

The second and third brothers were Richard and William, who ventur'd their lives to purchase honour in the wars of the Low Countries, and dyed officers in that employment. Charles was the fourth, and dyed Fellow of New Colledge in Oxford. Henry was the sixth, who became a menial[8] servant to the Crown in the days of King James, and hath continued to be so for fifty years, during all which time he hath been Master of the Revels,—a place that requires a diligent wisdom, with which God hath blest him. The seventh son was Thomas, who being made captain of a ship in that fleet with which Sir Robert Mansell[9] was sent

against Algiers, did there shew a fortunate and true English valour. Of the three sisters I need not say more then that they were all married to persons of worth and plentiful fortunes, and liv'd to be examples of vertue, and to do good in their generations.[10]

I now come to give my intended account of George, who was the fifth of those seven brothers.

George Herbert spent much of his childhood in a sweet content under the eye and care of his prudent mother, and the tuition of a chaplain or tutor to him and two of his brothers in her own family (for she was then a widow); where he continued till about the age of twelve years; and being at that time well instructed in the rules of grammar, he was not long after commended to the care of Dr. Neale (who was then Dean of Westminster[11]), and by him to the care of Mr. Ireland,[12] who was then chief master of that school; where the beauties of his pretty behaviour and wit shin'd and became so eminent and lovely in this his innocent age, that he seem'd to be marked out for piety, and to become the care of Heaven, and of a particular good angel to guard and guide him. And thus he continued in that school till he came to be perfect in the learned languages, and especially in the Greek tongue, in which he after prov'd an excellent critick.

About the age of fifteen he, being then a king's scholar, was elected out of that school for Trinity Colledge in Cambridge, to which place he was transplanted

about the year 1608 [1609]; and his prudent mother, well knowing that he might easily lose or lessen that virtue and innocence which her advice and example had planted in his mind, did therefore procure the generous and liberal Dr. Nevil, who was then Dean of Canterbury and master of that colledge, to take him into his particular care, and provide him a tutor; which he did most gladly undertake, for he knew the excellencies of his mother, and how to value such a friendship.[13]

This was the method of his education till he was setled in Cambridge, where we will leave him in his study till I have paid my promis'd account of his excellent mother, and I will endeavour to make it short.

I have told her birth, her marriage, and the number of her children, and have given some short account of them. I shall next tell the reader that her husband dyed when our George was about the age of four years (7), and that she continued twelve years a widow; that she then married happily to a noble gentleman, the brother and heir of the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby, who did highly value both her person and the most excellent endowments of her mind.[14]

In this time of her widowhood, she being desirous to give Edward, her eldest son, such advantages of learning and other education as might best sute his birth and fortune, and thereby make him the more fit for the service of his countrey, did, at his being of a

fit age, remove from Montgomery Castle with him and some of her younger sons to Oxford; and having entered Edward into Queen's Colledge, and provided him a fit tutor, she commended him to his care. Yet she continued there with him, and still kept him in a moderate awe of her self, and so much under her own eye, as to see and converse with him daily; but she managed this power over him without any such rigid sowreness as might make her company a torment to her child, but with such a sweetness and compliance with the recreations and pleasures of youth, as did incline him willingly to spend much of his time in the company of his dear and careful mother, which was to her great content; for she would often say, 'that as our bodies take a nourishment sutable to the meat on which we feed, so our souls do as insensibly take in vice by the example or conversation with wicked company;' and would therefore as often say, 'that ignorance of vice was the best preservation of vertue, and that the very knowledge of wickedness was as tinder to inflame and kindle sin and to keep it burning.' For these reasons she indeared him to her own company, and continued with him in Oxford four years; in which time her great and harmless wit, her chearful gravity, and her oblieging behaviour, gain'd her an acquaintance and friendship with most of any eminent worth or learning that were at that time in or near that University, and particularly with Mr. John

Donne, who then came accidentally to that place in this time of her being there. It was that John Donne who was after Dr. Donne and Dean of St. Paul's, London; and he, at his leaving Oxford, writ and left there, [in verse,] a character of the beauties of her body and mind. Of the first he sayes:

> 'No spring nor summer beauty has such grace
> As I have seen in an autumnal face.'

Of the latter he sayes:

> 'In all her words to every hearer fit,
> You may at revels or at council sit.'

The rest of her character may be read in his printed poems, in that elegy which bears the name of the 'Autumnal Beauty.' For both he and she were then past the meridian of man's life.[15]

This amity, begun at this time and place, was not an amity that polluted their souls, but an amity made up of a chain of sutable inclinations and vertues—an amity like that of St. Chrysostom's to his dear and vertuous Olimpias, whom, in his letters, he calls his saint; or an amity, indeed, more like that of St. Hierom to his Paula, whose affection to her was such that he turn'd poet in his old age, and then made her epitaph, 'wishing all his body were turn'd into tongues, that he might declare her just praises to posterity.' And this amity betwixt her and Mr. Donne was begun in a happy time for him, he being then near to the fortieth year of his age (which was some years before

he entred into sacred orders); a time when his necessities needed a daily supply for the support of his wife, seven children, and a family; and in this time she prov'd one of his most bountiful benefactors, and he as grateful an acknowledger of it. You may take one testimony of what I have said [of these two worthy persons] (8) from this following letter and sonnet:

'Madam,—Your favours to me are every where; I use them and have them. I enjoy them at London and leave them there, and yet find them at Micham. Such riddles as these become things unexpressible, and such is your goodness. I was almost sorry to find your servant here this day, because I was loth to have any witness of my not coming home last night, and, indeed, of my coming this morning; but my not coming was excusable, because earnest business detain'd me, and my coming this day is by the example of your St. Mary Magdalen, who rose early upon Sunday to seek that which she lov'd most, and so did I. And from her and myself I return such thanks as are due to one to whom we owe all the good opinion that they whom we need most have of us. By this messenger, and on this good day, I commit the inclosed holy hymns and sonnets (which for the matter, not the workmanship, have yet escap'd the fire) to your judgment, and to your protection too, if you think them worthy of it; and I have appointed this inclosed sonnet to usher them to your happy hand.

'Your unworthiest servant, unless your accepting him (9) have mended him, Jo. DONNE.

'Micham, July 11, 1607.

'*To the Lady Magdalen Herbert: Of St. Mary Magdalen.*

Her of your name, whose fair inheritance
Bethina was, and jointure Magdalo;
An active faith so highly did advance,
That she once knew more than the Church did know.
The resurrection; so much good there is
Deliver'd of her, that some Fathers be
Loth to believe one woman could do this,
But think these Magdalens were two or three.
Increase their number, lady, and their fame;
To their devotion add your innocence;
Take so much of th' example as of the name,
The latter half; and in some recompence
That they did harbour Christ Himself a guest,
Harbour these hymns, to His dear name addrest.

'J. D.'

These hymns are now lost to us; but doubtless they were such as they two now sing in heaven.[16]

There might be more demonstrations of the friendship and the many sacred indearments betwixt these two excellent persons (for I have many of their letters in my hand), and much more might be said of her great

prudence and piety; but my design was not to write hers, but the life of her son; and therefore I shall only tell my reader that about that very day twenty years that this letter was dated and sent her, I saw and heard this Mr. John Donne (who was then Dean of St. Paul's) weep, and preach her funeral sermon in the parish church of Chelsey, near London, where she now rests in her quiet grave,[17] and where we must now leave her, and return to her son George, whom we left in his study in Cambridge.

And in Cambridge we may find our George Herbert's behaviour to be such, that we may conclude he consecrated the first-fruits of his early age to vertue and a serious study of learning. And that he did so, this following letter and sonnet, which were in the first year of his going to Cambridge sent his dear mother for a new-year's gift, may appear to be some testimony:

'But I fear the heat of my late ague hath dryed up those springs by which scholars say the Muses use to take up their habitations. However, I need not their help to reprove the vanity of those many love-poems that are daily writ and consecrated to Venus, nor to bewail that so few are writ that look towards God and heaven. For my own part, my meaning, dear mother, is in these sonnets to declare my resolution to be, that my poor abilities in poetry shall be all and ever consecrated to God's glory, and [I beg you to receive this as one testimony.] (10)

My God, where is that ancient heat towards Thee,
Wherewith whole showls of martyrs once did burn,
Besides their other flames? Doth Poetry
Wear Venus' livery, only serve her turn?
Why are not sonnets made of Thee, and layes
Upon Thine altar burnt? Cannot Thy love
Heighten a spirit to sound out Thy praise
As well as any she? Cannot Thy Dove
Outstrip their Cupid easily in flight?
Or, since Thy wayes are deep and still the same,
Will not a verse run smooth that bears Thy name?
Why doth that fire, which by Thy power and might
Each breast does feel, no braver fuel choose
Than that which one day worms may chance refuse?

Sure, Lord, there is enough in Thee to dry
Oceans of ink; for as the deluge did
Cover the earth, so doth Thy Majesty;
Each cloud distills Thy praise, and doth forbid
Poets to turn it to another use;
Roses and lillies speak Thee, and to make
A pair of cheeks of them is Thy abuse.
Why should I women's eyes for chrystal take?
Such poor invention burns in their low mind
Whose fire is wild, and doth not upward go
To praise, and on Thee, Lord, some ink bestow.
Open the bones, and you shall nothing find

In the best face but filth; when, Lord, in Thee
The beauty lies in the discovery. G. H.'

This was his resolution at the sending this letter to his dear mother, about which time he was in the seventeenth year of his age; and as he grew older, so he grew in learning, and more and more in favour both with God and man; insomuch that in this morning of that short day of his life, he seem'd to be mark'd out for vertue, and to become the care of Heaven; for God still kept his soul in so holy a frame, that he may and ought to be a pattern of vertue to all posterity, and especially to his brethren of the clergy, of which the reader may expect a more exact account in what will follow.

I need not declare that he was a strict student, because that he was so, there will be many testimonies in the future part of his life. I shall therefore only tell that he was made Minor Fellow in the year 1609,[18] Batchelor of Art in the year 1611, Major Fellow of the colledge, March 15, 1615; and that in that year he was also made Master of Arts, being then in the 22d year of his age; during all which time all or the greatest diversion from his study was the practice of musick, in which he became a great master, and of which he would say, 'that it did relieve his drooping spirits, compose his distracted thoughts, and raise his weary soul so far above earth that it gave him an earnest of the joyes of heaven before he possest them.' And it may be

noted, that from his first entrance into the colledge, the generous Dr. Nevil was a cherisher of his studies, and such a lover of his person, his behaviour, and the excellent endowments of his mind, that he took him often into his own company, by which he confirm'd his native gentileness;[19] and if during this time he exprest any error, it was that he kept himself too much retir'd and at too great a distance with all his inferiours, and his cloaths seem'd to prove that he put too great a value on his parts and parentage.

This may be some account of his disposition, and of the employment of his time till he was Master of Arts, which was anno 1615, and in the year 1619 he was chosen orator for the university. His two precedent orators were Sir Robert Nanton[20] and Sir Francis Nethersoll.[21] The first was not long after made Secretary of State, and Sir Francis, not very long after his being orator, was made secretary to the Lady Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. In this place of orator our George Herbert continued eight years, and manag'd it with as becoming and grave a gaity as any had ever before or since his time. For 'he had acquir'd great learning, and was blest with a high fancy, a civil and sharp wit, and with a natural elegance both in his behaviour, his tongue, and his pen.' Of all which there might be very many particular evidences, but I will limit myself to the mention of but three.

And the first notable occasion of shewing his fit-

ness for this employment of orator was manifested in a letter to King James, who had sent the university his book (11) called *Basilicon Doron*,[22] and their orator was to acknowledge this great honour and return their gratitude to his Majesty for such a condescention; at the close of which letter he writ,

> 'Quid Vaticanam Bodleianamque objicis, hospes!
> Unicus est nobis bibliotheca liber.'[23]

This letter was writ in such excellent Latin, was so full of conceits, and all the expressions so suted to the genius of the king, that he inquired the orator's name, and then ask'd William Earl of Pembroke if he knew him; whose answer was, 'That he knew him very well, and that he was his kinsman; but he lov'd him more for his learning and vertue than for that he was of his name and family.' At which answer the king smil'd, and ask'd the earl leave 'that he might love him too, for he took him to be the jewel of that university.'

The next occasion he had and took to shew his great abilities was with them to shew also his great affection to that Church in which he received his baptism, and of which he profest himself a member. And the occasion was this: there was one Andrew Melvin (12), a gentleman of Scotland, who was in his own countrey possest with an aversness, if not a hatred, of church-government by bishops; and he seem'd to have a like aversness to our manner of public worship, and of church-prayers and ceremonies. This gentleman had

travail'd France, and resided so long in Geneva as to have his opinions the more confirm'd in him by the practice of that place; from which he return'd into England some short time before, or immediately after Mr. Herbert was made orator. This Mr. Melvin was a man of learning, and was the master of a great wit, a wit full of knots and clenches, a wit sharp and satyrical, exceeded, I think, by none of that nation but their Bucanon. At Mr. Melvin's return hither he writ and scattered in Latin many pieces of his wit against our altars, our prayers, and our publick worship of God; in which Mr. Herbert took himself to be so much concern'd, that as fast as Melvin writ and scatter'd them, Mr. Herbert writ and scatter'd answers and reflections of the same sharpness upon him and them; I think to the satisfaction of all uningaged persons. But this Mr. Melvin was not only so busie against the Church, but at last so bold with the king and state, that he rail'd and writ himself into the Tower,[24] at which time the Lady Arabella was an innocent prisoner there; and he pleas'd himself much in sending the next day after his commitment these two verses to the good lady; which I will underwrite, because they may give the reader a taste of his others, which were like these:

'Causa tibi mecum est communis carceris, Ara-
Bella; tibi causa est, Araque sacra mihi.'[25]

I shall not trouble my reader with an account of his enlargement from that prison, or his death; but

tell him, Mr. Herbert's verses were thought so worthy to be preserv'd, that Dr. Duport, the learned Dean of Peterborough, hath lately collected and caus'd (13) them to be printed, as an honourable memorial of his friend Mr. George Herbert, and the cause he undertook.[26]

And in order to my third and last observation of his great abilities, it will be needful to declare that about this time King James came very often to hunt at Newmarket and Royston; and was almost as often invited to Cambridge, where his entertainment was [comedies] (14) suted to his pleasant humor;[27] and where Mr. George Herbert was to welcome him with gratulations and the applauses of an orator; which he alwayes perform'd so well, that he still grew more into the king's favour; insomuch that he had a particular appointment to attend his Majesty at Royston; where, after a discourse with him, his Majesty declar'd to his kinsman, the Earl of Pembroke, 'that he found the orator's learning and wisdom much above his age or wit.' The year following, the king appointed to end his progress at Cambridge, and to stay there certain dayes; at which time he was attended by the great secretary of nature and all learning, Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Virulam, and by the ever-memorable and learned Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, both which did at that time begin a desir'd friendship with our orator. Upon whom the first put such a value on

his judgement, that he usually desir'd his approbation before he would expose any of his books to be printed; and thought him so worthy of his friendship, that having translated many of the prophet David's Psalms into English verse, he made George Herbert his patron of them, by a publick dedication of them to him, as the best judge of divine poetry.[28] And for the learned bishop, it is observable, that at that time there fell to be a modest debate [betwixt them two] (15) about predestination and sanctity of life; of both which the orator did, not long after, send the bishop some safe and useful aphorisms, in a long letter, written in Greek; which was so remarkable for the language and matter(16), that after the reading of it, the bishop put it into his bosom, and did often shew it to(17) scholars both of this and forreign nations; but did alwayes return it back to the place where he first lodg'd it, and continu'd it so near his heart till the last day of his life.[29]

To these I might add the long and entire friendship betwixt him and Sir Henry Wotton and Dr. Donne; but I have promis'd to contract my self, and shall therefore only add one testimony to what is also mentioned in the life of Dr. Donne; namely, that a little before his death he caused many seals to be made, and in them to be ingraven the figure of Christ crucified on an anchor, which is the emblem of hope, and of which Dr. Donne would often say, *Crux mihi*

anchora. These seals[30] he gave or sent to most of those friends on which he put value; and at Mr. Herbert's death these verses were found wrapt up with that seal which was by the doctor given to him:

> 'When my dear friend could write no more,
> He gave this Seal, and so gave ore.
> When winds and waves rise highest, I am sure
> This anchor keeps my faith, that me secure.'[31]

At this time of being orator he had learnt to understand the Italian, Spanish, and French tongues very perfectly, hoping that as his predecessor, so he might in time attain the place of a Secretary of State, being then(18) high in the king's favour; and not meanly valued and lov'd by the most eminent and most powerful of the court nobility: this and the love of a court conversation, mixt with a laudable ambition to be something more then he then was, drew him often from Cambridge to attend the king wheresoever the court was(19), who then gave him a sinecure which fell into his Majestie's disposal, I think, by the death of the Bishop of St. Asaph. It was the same that Queen Elizabeth had formerly given to her favourite Sir Philip Sidney, and valued to be worth 120*l.* per annum.[32] With this and his annuity, and the advantage of his colledge and of his oratorship, he enjoy'd his gentile[33] humour for cloaths and court-like company, and seldom look'd towards Cambridge unless the king were there, and(20) then he never fail'd; but at other

times left the manage of his orator's place to his learned friend Mr. Herbert Thorndike, who is now Prebend of Westminster.[34]

I may not omit to tell that he had often design'd to leave the university, and decline all study, which, he judg'd, did impair his health; for he had a body apt to a consumption, and to fevers and other infirmities, which he judg'd were increas'd by his studies; for he would often say, 'he had a wit like a penknife in a narrow sheath, too sharp for his body.'(21) But his mother would by no means allow him to leave the university, or to travel; to which, though he inclin'd very much(22), yet he would by no means satisfie his own desires at so dear a rate as to prove an undutiful son to so affectionate a mother; but did alwayes submit to her wisdom. And what I have now said may partly appear in a copy of verses in his printed poems; 'tis one of those that bears the title of 'Affliction,'[35] and it appears to be a pious reflection on God's providence and some passages of his life, in which he sayes:

'Whereas my birth and spirit rather took
The way that takes the town,
Thou did'st betray me to a lingring book,
And wrap me in a gown;
I was intangled in a world of strife
Before I had the power to change my life.

Yet, for I threatned oft the siege to raise,
Not simp'ring all mine age,
Thou often didst with academick praise
Melt and dissolve my rage:
I took the sweetned pill, till I came where
I could not go away nor persevere.

Yet least perchance I should too happy be
In my unhappiness,
Turning my purge to food, Thou throwest me
Into more sicknesses:
Thus doth Thy power cross byas me, not making
Thine own gifts good, yet me from my wayes taking.

Now I am here, what Thou wilt do with me
None of my books will shew;
I read, and sigh, and wish I were a tree,
For then sure I should grow
To fruit or shade, at least some bird would trust
Her houshold with me, and I would be just.

Yet though Thou troublest me, I must be meek,
In weakness must be stout:
Well, I will change my service, and go seek
Some other master out.
Ah, my dear God, though I am clean forgot,
Let me not love Thee, if I love Thee not. G. H.'[36]

In this time of Mr. Herbert's attendance and expectation of some good occasion to remove him from Cambridge to court, God, in whom there is an unseen chain of causes, did in a short time put an end to the lives of two of his most oblieging and most powerful friends, Lodowick Duke of Richmond,[37] and James Marquis of Hamilton,[38] and not long after him King James dyed[39](23), and with them all Mr. Herbert's court hopes; so that he presently betook himself to a retreat from London, to a friend in Kent, where he liv'd very privately, and was such a lover of solitariness as was judg'd to impair his health [more then his study had done](24). In this time of retirement he had many conflicts with himself, whether he should return to the painted pleasures of a court-life, or betake himself to a study of divinity, and enter into sacred orders, to which his dear mother had often perswaded him. These were such conflicts as they only can know that have endur'd them; for ambitious desires, and the outward glory of this world, are not easily laid aside; but at last God inclin'd him to put on a resolution to serve at His altar.

He did at his return to London acquaint a court-friend with his resolution to enter into sacred orders, who perswaded[40] him to alter it, as too mean an employment, and too much below his birth and the excellent abilities and endowments of his mind. To whom he replied, 'It hath been formerly judg'd (25)

that the domestick servants of the King of Heaven should be of the noblest families on earth; and though the iniquity of the late times have made clergymen meanly valued, and the sacred name of priest contemptible, yet I will labour to make it honourable, by consecrating all my learning and all my poor abilities to advance the glory of that God that gave them, knowing that I can never do too much for Him that hath done so much for me as to make me a Christian. And I will labour to be like my Saviour, by making humility lovely in the eyes of all men, and by following the merciful and meek example of my dear Jesus.'

This was, then, his resolution, and the God of constancy, Who intended him for a great example of virtue, continued him in it; for within that year he was made deacon, but the day when, or by whom, I cannot learn; but that he was about that time made deacon is most certain, for I find by the records of Lincoln that he was made prebend[41] of Layton Ecclesia in the dioces of Lincoln, July 15, 1626, and that this prebend was given him by John, then lord bishop of that see.[42] And now he had a fit occasion to show that piety and bounty that was deriv'd from his generous mother and his other memorable ancestors, and the occasion was this:

This Layton Ecclesia is a village near to Spalden, in the county of Huntingdon, and the greatest part of the parish-church was faln down, and that of [it] which

stood was so decayed, so little, and so useless, that the parishioners could not meet to perform their duty to God in publick prayer and praises; and thus it had been for almost twenty years, in which time there had been some faint endeavours for a publick collection, to enable the parishioners to rebuild it, but with no success till Mr. Herbert undertook it; and he, by his own and the contribution of many of his kindred and other noble friends, undertook the re-edification of it, and made it so much his whole business that he became restless till he saw it finisht as it now stands; being for the workmanship a costly mosaick, for the form an exact cross, and for the decency and beauty I am assur'd it is the most remarkable parish-church that this nation affords. He liv'd to see it so wainscoated as to be exceeded by none; and by his order the reading-pew and pulpit were a little distant from each other, and both of an equal height; for he would often say, 'They should neither have a precedency or priority of the other; but that prayer and preaching, being equally useful, might agree like brethren, and have an equal honour and estimation.'[43]

Before I proceed farther I must look back to the time of Mr. Herbert's being made prebend, and tell the reader that not long after, his mother being inform'd of his intentions to rebuild that church, and apprehending the great trouble and charge that he was likely to draw upon himself, his relations, and friends,

before it could be finisht, sent for him from London to Chelsey, where he (26) then dwelt, and at his coming said, 'George, I sent for you to persuade you to commit simony, by giving your patron as good a gift as he has given you, namely, that you give him back his prebend; for, George, it is not for your weak body and empty purse to undertake to build churches.' Of which he desir'd he might have a daye's time to consider, and then make her an answer. And at his return to her at the next day, when he had first desired her blessing, and she given it him, his next request was, 'that she would at the age of thirty-three years allow him to become an undutiful son; for he had made a kind of (27) vow to God, that if he were able, he would rebuild that church.' And then shew'd her such reasons for his resolution, that she presently subscribed to be one of his benefactors, and undertook to sollicit William Earl of Pembroke to be another, who subscribed for 50*l.*, and not long after, by a witty and persuasive letter from Mr. Herbert, made it 50*l.* more. And in this nomination of some of his benefactors, James Duke of Lennox[44] and his brother Sir Henry Herbert[45] ought to be remembred, and the bounty of Mr. Nicholas Farrer[46] and Mr. Arthur Woodnot[47]—the one a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Layton, and the other a goldsmith in Foster-lane, London—ought not to be forgotten; for the memory of such men ought to outlive their lives. Of

Mr. Farrer I shall hereafter give an account in a more seasonable place; but before I proceed farther, I will give this short account of Mr. Arthur Woodnot:

He was a man that had consider'd overgrown estates do often require more care and watchfulness to preserve than get them, and that there be many discontents that riches cure not; and did therefore set limits to himself as to desire of wealth; and having attain'd so much as to be able to shew some mercy to the poor and preserve a competence for himself, he dedicated the remaining part of his life to the service of God, and being useful for his friends, he prov'd to be so to Mr. Herbert; for, beside his own bounty, he collected and return'd most of the money that was paid for the rebuilding of that church; he kept all the account of the charges, and would often go down to state them, and see all the workmen paid. When I have said that this good man was an useful friend to Mr. Herbert's father, to his mother, and continued to be so to him till he clos'd his eyes on his deathbed, I will forbear to say more till I have the next fair occasion to mention the holy friendship that was betwixt him and Mr. Herbert. (28)

About the year 1629, and the thirty-fourth of his age, Mr. Herbert was seiz'd with a sharp quotidian ague, and thought to remove it by the change of air; to which end he went to Woodford in Essex, but thither more chiefly to enjoy the company of his

beloved brother Sir Henry Herbert and other friends then of that family. (29) In his house he remain'd about twelve months, and there became his own physitian, and cur'd himself of his ague by forbearing drink, and not eating any meat, no, not mutton, nor a hen, or pidgeon, unless they were salted; and by such a constant dyet he remov'd his ague, but with inconveniencies that were worse; for he brought upon himself a disposition to rheums and other weaknesses, and a supposed consumption. And it is to be noted that in the sharpest of his extreme fits he would often say, 'Lord, abate my great affliction, or increase my patience; but, Lord, I repine not; I am dumb, Lord, before Thee, because Thou doest it.' By which, and a sanctified submission to the will of God, he shewed he was inclinable to bear the sweet yoke of Christian discipline, both then and in the latter part of his life, of which there will be many true testimonies.

And now his care was to recover from his consumption by a change from Woodford into such an air as was most proper to that end; and his remove was from Woodford to Dantsey in Wiltshire; a noble house which stands in a choice air. The owner of it then was the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby, who lov'd Mr. Herbert much, and allow'd him such an apartment in that house as might best sute Mr. Herbert's accommodation and liking. (30) And in this place, by a spare dyet, declining all perplexing studies, moderate

exercise, and a chearful conversation, his health was apparently improv'd to a good degree of strength and chearfulness; and then he declar'd his resolution both to marry and to enter into the sacred orders of priesthood. These had long been the desire of his mother and his other relations; but she liv'd not to see either, for she died in the year 1627. And though he was disobedient to her about Layton church, yet in conformity to her will he kept his fellowship in Cambridge and orator's place till after her death, and then declined both (31), and the last the more willingly, that he might be succeeded by his friend Robert Creighton, who now is Dr. Creighton, and the worthy Dean of Wells.[48]

I shall now proceed to his marriage, in order to which it will be convenient that I first give the reader a short view of his person, and then an account of his wife, and of some circumstances concerning both.

He was, for his person, of a stature inclining towards tallness; his body was very strait, and so far from being cumbred with too much flesh, that he was lean to an extremity. His aspect was chearful, and his speech and motion did both declare him a gentleman; and were all so meek and oblieging, that both then and at his death he was said to have no enemy. (32)

These and his other visible vertues begot him much love from a gentleman of a noble fortune, and a near kinsman to his friend the Earl of Danby, namely

from Mr. Charles Danvers of Bainton, in the county of Wilts, esq. That Mr. Danvers, having known him long and familiarly, did so much affect him, that he often and publicly declar'd a desire that Mr. Herbert would marry any of his nine daughters (for he had so many), but rather his daughter Jane than any other, because Jane was his beloved daughter; and he had often said the same to Mr. Herbert himself, and that if he could like her for a wife, and she him for a husband, Jane should have a double blessing; and Mr. Danvers had so often said the like to Jane, and so much commended Mr. Herbert to her, that Jane became so much a platonick as to fall in love with Mr. Herbert unseen.

This was a fair preparation for a marriage; but, alas, her father dyed before Mr. Herbert's retirement to Dantsey; yet some friends to both parties procur'd their meeting, at which time a mutual affection entered into both their hearts; and as a conqueror enters into a surprized city, so Love having got that possession (33), govern'd and made there such laws and resolutions as neither party was able to resist, insomuch that she chang'd her name into Herbert the third day after this first interview.

This haste[49] might in others be thought a love-phrensie, or worse, but it was not; for they had wooed so like princes as to have select proxies, such as were friends (34) to both parties; such as well understood

Mr. Herbert's and her temper of mind, and their estates, so well before this interview, that the suddenness was justifiable by the strictest rules of prudence, and the more because it prov'd so happy to both parties; for the eternal Lover of mankind made them happy in each other's mutual (35) affections and compliance—so happy that there never was any opposition betwixt them, unless it were a contest which should most incline to a compliance with the other's desires. And though this begot and continued in them such a mutual love and joy and content as was no way defective, yet this mutual content and love and joy did receive a daily augmentation by such daily obligingness to each other, as still added such new affluences to the former fulness of these divine souls as was only improvable in heaven, where they now enjoy it.

About three months after his marriage, Dr. Curle, who was then rector of Bemerton, in Wiltshire, was made Bishop of Bath and Wells (and not long after translated to Winchester);[50] and by that means the presentation of a clerk to Bemerton did not fall to the Earl of Pembroke,—who was the undoubted patron of it,—but to the king, by reason of Dr. Curle's advancement. But Philip, then Earl of Pembroke (for William was lately dead),[51] requested the king[52] to bestow it upon his kinsman, George Herbert; and the king said, 'Most willingly to Mr. Herbert, if it be worth his acceptance.' And the earl as willingly and suddenly

sent it him without seeking. But though Mr. Herbert had formerly put on a resolution for the clergy, yet, at receiving this presentation (36), the apprehension of the last great account that he was to make for the cure of so many souls made him fast and pray (37), and consider for not less than a month ; in which time he had some resolutions to decline both the priesthood and that living. And in this time of considering, 'he endur'd,' as he would often say, 'such spiritual conflicts as none can think but only those that have endur'd them.'

In the midst of these conflicts his old and dear friend, Mr. Arthur Woodnot, took a journey to salute him at Bainton,—where he then was with his wive's friends and relations,—and was joyful to be an eye-witness of his health and happy marriage. And after they had rejoyc'd together some few dayes, they took a journey to Wilton, the famous seat of the Earls of Pembroke ; at which time the king, the earl, and the whole court were there, or at Salisbury, which is near to it ; at which time (38) Mr. Herbert presented his thanks to the earl for his presentation to Bemerton, but had not yet resolv'd to accept of it, and told him the reason why. But that night the earl acquainted Dr. Laud, [then Bishop of London, and after] Archbishop of Canterbury (39), with his kinsman's irresolution. And the bishop did the next day so convince Mr. Herbert 'that the refusal of it was a sin,' that a taylor was sent

for, to come speedily from Salisbury to Wilton to take measure and make him canonical cloaths against next day, which the taylor did; and Mr. Herbert, being so habited, went with his presentation to the learned Dr. Davenant, who was then Bishop of Salisbury,[53] and he gave him institution immediately (for Mr. Herbert had been made deacon some years before); and he was also the same day, which was April 26, 1630, inducted into the good and more pleasant than healthful parsonage of Bemerton, which is a mile from Salisbury.

I have now brought him to his parsonage of Bemerton, and to the thirty-sixth year of his age; and must now stop (40), and bespeak the reader to prepare for an almost incredible story of the great sanctity of the short remainder of his holy life; a life so full of charity, humility, and all Christian vertues, that it deserves the eloquence of St. Chrysostom to commend and declare it; a life that, if it were related by a pen like his, there would then be no need for this age to look back into times past for the examples of primitive piety; for they might be all found in the life of George Herbert. But now, alas, who is fit to undertake it? I confess I am not, and am not pleas'd with myself, that must; and profess myself amaz'd when I consider how few of the clergy liv'd like him then, and how many live so unlike him now. But it becomes not me to censure; my design is rather to assure the reader that I have used very great diligence to inform myself,

that I might inform him of the truth of what follows; and [though I cannot adorn it with eloquence, yet] I will do it with sincerity. (41)

When at his induction he was shut into Bemerton church, being left there alone to toll the bell, as the law requires him, he staid so much longer than an ordinary time before he return'd to his friends (42) that staid expecting him at the church-door, that his friend Mr. Woodnot looked in at the church-window, and saw him lie prostrate on the ground before the altar; at which time and place, as he after told Mr. Woodnot, he set some rules to himself for the future manage of his life, and then and there made a vow to labour to keep them.

And the same night that he had his induction he said to Mr. Woodnot: 'I now look back upon my aspiring thoughts, and think myself more happy than if I had attain'd what then I so ambitiously thirsted for. And I can now behold the court with an impartial eye, and see plainly that it is made up of fraud and titles and flattery, and many other such empty imaginary painted pleasures; pleasures that are so empty as not to satisfie when they are enjoy'd; but in God and His service is a fulness of all joy and pleasure, and no satiety. And I will now use all my endeavours to bring my relations and dependants to a love and reliance on Him Who never fails those that trust Him. But above all, I will be sure to live well, because the

vertuous life of a clergyman is the most powerful eloquence to perswade all that see it to reverence and love, and at least to desire to live like him. And this I will do, because I know we live in an age that hath more need of good examples than precepts. And I beseech that God, Who hath honour'd me so much as to call me to serve at His altar, that as by His special grace He hath put into my heart these good desires and resolutions, so He will, by His assisting grace, enable me (43) to bring the same to good effect; and that my humble and charitable life may so win upon others as to bring glory to my Jesus, Whom I have this day taken to be my Master and Governor; and am so proud of His service, that I will alwayes observe and obey and do His will, and alwayes call Him Jesus my Master; and I will alwayes contemn my birth, or any title or dignity that can be conferr'd upon me, when I shall compare them with any (44) title of being a priest and serving at the altar of Jesus my Master.'

And that he did so, may appear in many parts of his book of Sacred Poems, especially in that which he calls 'The Odour;'[54] in which he seems to rejoyce in his thoughts of that word 'Jesus,' and to say the adding these words, 'my Master,' to it, and the often repetition of them, seem'd to perfume his mind, and leave an oriental fragrancy in his very breath. And for his unforc'd choice to serve at God's altar, he seems in another place (45) ('The Pearl' Matt. xiii.)[55] to rejoyce

and say: 'He knew the wayes of learning; knew what nature does willingly, and what when 'tis forc'd by fire; knew the wayes of honour, and when glory inclines the soul to noble expressions; knew the court, knew the wayes of pleasure, of love, of wit, of musick, and upon what terms he declined all these for the service of his Master, Jesus;' and concludes saying:

> 'That through these labyrinths, not my groveling wit,
> But Thy silk-twist, let down from heaven to me,
> Did both conduct and teach me how by it
> To climb to Thee.'

The third day after he was made rector of Bemerton, and had chang'd his sword and silk cloaths into a canonical coat, he return'd so habited with his friend Mr. Woodnot to Bainton, and immediately after he had seen and saluted his wife, he said to her: 'You are now a minister's wife, and must now so far forget your father's house as not to claim a precedence of any of your parishioners; for you are to know that a priest's wife can challenge no precedence or place but that which she purchases by her obliging humility; and I am sure places so purchased do best become them. And let me tell you, that I am so good a herald as to assure you that this is truth.' And she was so meek a wife as to assure him 'it was no vexing news to her, and that he should see her observe it with a chearful willingness.' And indeed her unforc'd humility—that humility that was in her so original as to be

born with her—made her so happy as to do so; and her doing so begot her an unfeigned love and a serviceable respect from all that converst with her, and this love followed her in all places as inseparably as shadows follow substances in sunshine.

It was not many dayes before he return'd back to Bemerton, to view the church, and repair the chancel; and indeed to rebuild [almost] three parts of his house, which was fall'n down or decayed by reason of his predecessor's living at a better parsonage-house, namely at Minal, sixteen or twenty miles from this place.[56] At which time of Mr. Herbert's coming alone to Bemerton, there came to him a poor old woman, with an intent to acquaint him with her necessitous condition, and with some troubles of her mind; but after she had spoke some few words to him, she was surpriz'd with a fear (46) and shortness of breath, so that her spirits and speech fail'd her; which he perceiving, did so compassionate her (47) that he took her by the hand, and said: 'Speak, good mother; be not afraid to speak to me, for I am a man that will hear you with patience; and will relieve your necessities too, if I be able; and this I will do willingly; and therefore, mother, be not afraid to acquaint me with what you desire.' After which comfortable speech, he again took her by the hand, made her sit down by him, and understanding she was of his parish, he told her 'he would be acquainted with her, and take her into his

care.' And having with patience heard and understood her wants,—and it is some relief (48) [for a poor body] to be but heard with patience,—he, [like a Christian clergyman] (49), comforted her by his meek behaviour and counsel; but because that cost him nothing, he reliev'd her with money too, and so sent her home with a chearful heart, praising God, and praying for him. Thus worthy and (like David's blessed man) thus lowly was Mr. George Herbert in his own eyes. (50)

At his return that night to his wife at Bainton, he gave her an account of the passages 'twixt him and the poor woman; with which she was so affected that she went next day to Salisbury, and there bought a pair of blankets, and sent them as a token of her love to the poor woman; and with them a message, 'that she would see and be acquainted with her when her house was built at Bemerton.'

There be many such passages both of him and his wife, of which some few will be related; but I shall first tell that he hasted to get the parish-church repair'd; then to beautifie the chapel, which stands near his house, and that at his own great charge. He then proceeded to rebuild [the greatest part of] (51) the parsonage-house, which he did also very compleatly, and at his own charge; and having done this good work, he caus'd these verses to be writ upon or ingraven in the mantle of the chimney in his hall:

To my Successor.

If thou chance for to find
A new house to thy mind,
And built without thy cost;
Be good to the poor,
As God gives thee store,
And then my labor's not lost.[57]

We will now, by the reader's favour, suppose him fixt at Bemerton, and grant him to have seen the church repair'd, and the chappel belonging to it very decently adorn'd, at his own great charge, which is a real truth; and having now fixt him there, I shall proceed to give an account of the rest of his behaviour both to his parishioners and those many others that knew and conversed with him. (52)

Doubtless Mr. Herbert had consider'd and given rules to himself for his Christian carriage both to God and man before he enter'd into holy orders. And 'tis not unlike but that he renewed those resolutions at his prostration before the holy altar, at his induction into the church of Bemerton; but as yet he was but a deacon, and therefore long'd for the next Ember-week, that he might be ordain'd priest and made capable of administring both the Sacraments. At which time, the Rev. Dr. Humphrey Hinchman, now Lord Bishop of London (who does not mention him but with some veneration for the life and excellent learning of Mr.

George Herbert), tells me 'he laid his hand on Mr. Herbert's head; and, alas, within less than three years lent his shoulder to carry his dear friend to his grave.'[58]

And that Mr. Herbert might the better preserve those holy rules which such a priest as he intended to be ought to observe; and that time might not insensibly blot them out of his memory, but the next year shew him his variations from this year's resolutions; he therefore did set down his rules (53) in that order as the world now sees them printed in a little book call'd the *Countrey Parson*, in which some of his rules are:

The parson's knowledge.
The parson on Sundayes.
The parson praying.
The parson preaching.
The parson's charity.
The parson comforting the sick.
The parson arguing.
The parson condescending.
The parson in his journey.
The parson in his mirth.
The parson with his churchwardens.
The parson's blessing the people.

And his behaviour toward God and man may be said to be a practical comment on these and the other holy

rules set down in that useful book. A book so full of plain prudent, and useful rules, that that countrey parson that can spare 12*d.* and yet wants it, is scarce excusable; because it will both direct him what he ought to do, and convince[59] him for not having done it.

At the death of Mr. Herbert this book fell into the hands of his friend Mr. Woodnot; and he commended it into the trusty hands of Mr. Bar. Oly, who publisht it with a most conscientious and excellent preface, from which I have had some of those truths that are related in this life of Mr. Herbert.

The text for his first sermon was taken out of Solomon's Proverbs, and the words were, 'Keep thy heart with all diligence.' In which first sermon he gave his parishioners many necessary, holy, safe rules for the discharge of a good conscience both to God and man; and deliver'd his sermon after a most florid manner, both with great learning and eloquence; and at the close of this sermon told them, 'that should not be his constant way of preaching (54), and that he would not fill their heads with unnecessary notions; but that for their sakes his language and his expressions should be more plain and practical in his future sermons.' And he then made it his humble request, 'that they wou'd be constant to the afternoon's service and catechising.' And shewed them convincing reasons why he desir'd it; and his obliging example

and perswasions brought them to a willing conformity with his desires.

The texts for all his [future] (55) sermons [which God knows were not many] were constantly taken out of the gospel for the day, and he did as constantly declare why the Church did appoint that portion of Scripture to be that day read, and in what manner the collect for every Sunday does refer to the gospel or to the epistle then read to them; and that they might pray with understanding, he did usually take occasion to explain, not only the collect for every particular Sunday (56), but the reasons of all the other collects and responses in our [church] service (57); and made it appear to them that the whole service of the Church was a reasonable, and therefore an acceptable, sacrifice to God; as namely, that we begin with confession of ourselves to be vile miserable sinners; and that we begin so because till we have confessed ourselves to be such, we are not capable of that mercy which we acknowledge we need and pray for; but having, in the prayer of our Lord, begg'd pardon for those sins which we have confest, and hoping that as the priest hath declar'd our absolution, so by our publick confession and real repentance we have obtain'd that pardon. Then we dare (58) proceed to beg of the Lord to open our lips, that our mouths may shew forth His praise, for till then we are neither able nor worthy to praise Him. But this being suppos'd, we are then fit to say, 'Glory be to the Father, and to

the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;' and fit to proceed to a further service of our God, in the collects and psalms and lauds that follow in the service.

And as to these psalms and lauds, he proceeded to inform them why they were so often, and some of them daily, repeated in our church service; namely, the psalms every month, because they be an historical and thankful repetition of mercies past, and such a composition of prayers and praises as ought to be repeated often and publicly; for with such sacrifices God is honour'd and well pleased. This for the psalms.

And for the hymns and lauds appointed to be daily repeated or sung after the first and second lessons were read to the congregation, he proceeded to inform them that it was most reasonable, after they have heard the will and goodness of God declar'd or preacht by the priest in his reading the two chapters, that it was then a seasonable duty to rise up and express their gratitude to Almighty God for those His mercies to them and to all mankind; and [then to] say with the blessed Virgin, 'that their souls do magnifie the Lord, and that their spirits do also rejoyce in God their Saviour.' And that it was their duty also to rejoice with Simeon in his song, and say with him, 'that their eyes have also seen their salvation;' for they have seen that salvation which was but prophesied till his time, and he then broke out in expressions of joy to see it (59); but they live to see it daily in the history of it, and therefore ought

daily to rejoyce, and daily to offer up their sacrifices of praise to their God for that and all His mercies; a service which is now the constant employment of that blessed Virgin and Simeon, and all those blessed saints that are possest of heaven; and where they are at this time interchangeably and constantly singing, 'Holy, holy, holy Lord God; glory be to God on high, and on earth peace.' And he taught them that to do this was an acceptable service to God, because the prophet David sayes in his psalms, 'He that praiseth the Lord honoureth Him.'

He made them to understand how happy they be that are freed from the incumbrances of that law which our forefathers groan'd under; namely, from the legal sacrifices and from the many ceremonies of the Levitical law; freed from circumcision, and from the strict observation of the Jewish Sabbath, and the like. And he made them know, that having receiv'd so many and so great blessings by being born since the days of our Saviour, it must be an acceptable sacrifice to Almighty God for them to acknowledge those blessings (60), and stand up and worship, and say as Zacharias did, 'Blessed be the Lord God of Israel; for He hath' (in our dayes) 'visited and redeemed His people, and' (He hath in our dayes) 'remembred and shewed that mercy which, by the mouth of the prophets, He promised to our forefathers; and this He hath done according to His holy covenant made with them.' And [he made them

to understand that] we live to see and enjoy the benefit of it in His birth, in His life, His passion, His resurrection, and ascension into heaven, where He now sits, sensible of all our temptations and infirmities, and where He is at this present time making intercession for us to His and our Father; and therefore they ought daily to express their publick gratulations, and say daily with Zacharias, 'Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, that hath thus visited and thus redeemed His people.' These were some of the reasons by which Mr. Herbert instructed his congr. gation for the use of the psalms and the hymns appointed to be daily sung or said in the church service.

He inform'd them, when the priest did pray only for the congregation and not for himself, and when they did only pray for him; as namely, after the repetition of the Creed, before he proceeds to pray the Lord's prayer, or any of the appointed collects, the priest is directed to kneel down and pray for them, saying, 'The Lord be with you;' and then they pray for him, saying, 'And with thy spirit;' [and then they join together in the following collects;] and he assur'd them that when there is such mutual love, and such joint prayers offer'd for each other, then the holy angels look down from heaven, and are ready to carry such charitable desires to God Almighty, and He as ready to receive them; and that a Christian congregation calling thus upon God with one heart and one voyce, and in one

reverend and humble posture, look as beautifully as Jerusalem, that is at peace with itself.

He instructed them why the prayer of our Lord was pray'd often in every full service of the Church—namely, at the conclusion of the several parts of that service; and pray'd then, not only because it was compos'd and commanded by our Jesus that made it, but as a perfect pattern for our less perfect forms of prayer, and therefore fittest to sum up and conclude all our imperfect petitions.

He instructed them that, as by the second commandment we are requir'd not to bow down or worship any idol or false god, so, by the contrary rule, we are to bow down and kneel, or stand up, and worship the true God. And he instructed them why the Church required the congregation to stand up at the repetition of the creeds; namely, because they did thereby declare both their obedience to the Church and an assent to that faith into which they had been baptiz'd. And he taught them that in that shorter creed or doxology so often repeated daily, they also stood up to testifie their belief to be that the God that they trusted in was one God and three Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; to Whom [they and] the priest gave glory. And because there had been hereticks that had denied some of these three Persons to be God, therefore the congregation stood up and honour'd Him by confessing and saying: 'It was so in the beginning, is now so, and

shall ever be so, world without end;' and all gave their assent to this belief by standing up and saying 'Amen.'

He instructed them what benefit they had by the Churche's appointing the celebration of holy-dayes, and the excellent use of them; namely, that they were set apart for particular commemorations of particular mercies received from Almighty God, and, as Reverend Mr. Hooker sayes,[60] to be the landmarks to distinguish times; for by them we are taught to take notice how the years pass (61) by us, and that we ought not to let them pass without a celebration of praise for those mercies which they give us occasion to remember; and therefore (62) the year is appointed to begin the 25th day of March—a day in which we commemorate the angel's appearing to the blessed Virgin with the joyful tydings, that she should conceive and bear a Son, that should be the Redeemer of mankind; and she did so forty weeks after this joyful salutation, namely at our Christmas—a day in which we commemorate His birth with joy and praise; and that eight dayes after this happy birth we celebrate His circumcision, namely in that which we call New-year's day. And that upon that we call Twelfth-day (63) we commemorate the manifestation of the unsearchable riches of Jesus to the Gentiles; and that that day we also celebrate the memory of His goodness in sending a star to guide the three wise men from the East to Bethlem, that they might there worship and present Him with their oblations of gold,

frankincense, and myrrhe. And he (Mr. Herbert) instructed them that Jesus was forty dayes after His birth presented by His blessed mother in the Temple, namely on that day which we call the Purification of the blessed Virgin Saint Mary. And he instructed them that by the Lent-fast we imitate and commemorate our Saviour's humiliation in fasting forty dayes; and that we ought to endeavour to be like Him in purity. And that on Good Fryday we commemorate and condole His crucifixion; and at Easter, commemorate His glorious resurrection. And he taught them that after Jesus had manifested Himself to His disciples to be that Christ that was crucified, dead, and buried, that by His appearing and conversing with them (64) for the space of forty dayes after His resurrection, He then, and not till then, ascended into heaven in the sight of His disciples, namely on that day which we call the Ascension, or Holy Thursday. And that we then celebrate the performance of the promise which He made to His disciples at or before His ascension, namely that though He left them, yet He would send them the Holy Ghost to be their Comforter; and that He did so on that day which the Church calls Whit Sunday. Thus the Church keeps an historical and circular commemoration of times as they pass by us; of such times as ought to incline us to occasional praises for the particular blessings which we do or might receive by those holy times. (65)

He made them know why the Church hath appointed Ember-weeks; and to know the reason why the Commandements, and the Epistles and Gospels, were to be read at the altar or communion-table; why the priest was to pray the Litany kneeling, and why to pray some collects standing; and he gave them many other observations fit for his plain congregation but not fit for me now to mention; for I must set limits to my pen, and not make that a treatise which I intended to be a much shorter account than I have made it. But I have done, when I have told the reader that he was constant in catechising every Sunday in the afternoon, and that his catechising was after his second lesson, and in the pulpit; and that he never exceeded his half hour, and was always so happy as to have a full congregation. (66)

But to this I must add, that if he were at any time too zealous in his sermons, it was in reproving the indecencies of the people's behaviour in the time of divine service; and of those ministers that hudled-up the church prayers without a visible reverence and affection, namely such as seem'd to say the Lord's prayer or a collect in a breath; but for himself, his custom was to stop betwixt every collect, and give the people time to consider what they had pray'd, and to force their desires affectionately to God, before he engag'd them into new petitions.

And by this account of his diligence to make his

parishioners understand what and why they pray'd and prais'd and ador'd their Creator (67), I hope I shall the more easily obtain the reader's belief to the following account of Mr. Herbert's own practice; which was, to appear constantly, with his wife and three neeces (the daughters of a deceased sister), and his whole family, twice a day at the church prayers in the chappel which does almost join to his parsonage-house. And for the time of his appearing, it was strictly at the canonical hours of ten and four; and then and there he lifted up pure and charitable hands to God in the midst of the congregation. And he would joy to have spent that time in that place where the honour of his Master Jesus dwelleth; and there, by that inward devotion which he testified constantly by an humble behaviour and visible adoration, he, like Joshua,[61] brought not only his own houshold thus to serve the Lord, but brought most of his parishioners, and many gentlemen in the neighbourhood, constantly to make a part of his congregation twice a day; and some of the meaner sort of his parish did so love and reverence Mr. Herbert, that they would let their plow rest when Mr. Herbert's saint's-bell[62] rung to prayers, that they might also offer their devotions to God with him, and would then return back to their plow. And his most holy life was such, that it begot such reverence to God and to him, that they thought themselves the happier when they carried Mr. Herbert's blessing back with them to

their labour. Thus powerful was his reason and example to perswade others to a practical piety. (68)

And his constant publick prayers did never make him to neglect his own private devotions, nor those prayers that he thought himself bound to perform with his family, which alwayes were a set form, and not long; and he did alwayes conclude them with that collect which the Church hath appointed for the day or week. Thus he made every daye's sanctity a step towards that kingdom where impurity cannot enter.

His chiefest recreation was musick, in which heavenly art he was a most excellent master, and compos'd (69) many divine hymns and anthems, which he set and sung to his lute or viol; and though he was a lover of retiredness, yet his love to musick was such that he went usually twice every week, on certain appointed dayes, to the cathedral church in Salisbury; and at his return would say, 'that his time spent in prayer and cathedral musick elevated his soul, and was his heaven upon earth.' But before his return thence to Bemerton, he would usually sing and play his part at an appointed private musick-meeting; and to justifie this practice, he would often say, 'Religion does not banish mirth, but only moderates and sets rules to it.'

And as his desire to enjoy his heaven upon earth drew him twice every week to Salisbury, so his walks thither were the occasion of many happy accidents to others, of which I will mention some few.

In one of his walks to Salisbury he overtook a gentleman that is still living in that city; and in their walk together Mr. Herbert took a fair occasion to talk with him, and humbly begg'd to be excus'd if he ask'd him some account of his faith, and said, 'I do this the rather because, though you are not of my parish, yet I receive tythe from you by the hand of your tenant; and, sir, I am the bolder to do it, because I know there be some sermon-hearers that be like those fishes that alwayes live in salt water, and yet are alwayes fresh.' After which expression Mr. Herbert asked him some needful questions; and having received his answer, gave him such rules for the tryal of his sincerity and for a practical piety, and in so loving and meek a manner, that the gentleman did so fall in love with him and his discourse, that he would often contrive to meet him in his walk to Salisbury, or to attend him back to Bemerton, and still mentions the name of Mr. George Herbert with veneration, and still praiseth God that he knew him. (70)

In another of his Salisbury walks he met with a neighbour minister; and after some friendly discourse betwixt them, and some condolement for the wickedness of the times and contempt of the clergy (71), Mr. Herbert took occasion to say, 'One cure for these distempers would be for the clergy themselves to keep the Ember-weeks strictly, and beg of their parishioners to joyn with them in fasting and prayers for a more religious clergy.'

And another cure would be 'for them to restore the great and neglected duty of catechising, on which the salvation of so many of the poor and ignorant lay people does depend; but principally that the clergy themselves would be sure to live unblameably, and that the dignified clergy especially, which preach temperance, would avoid surfeting, and take all occasions to express a visible humility and charity in their lives; for this would force a love and an imitation and an unfeigned reverence from all that knew them.' (72) (And for proof of this we need no other testimony than the life and death of Dr. Lake, late Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells.)[63] 'This,' said Mr. Herbert, 'would be a cure for the wickedness and growing atheism of our age. And, my dear brother, till this be done by us, and done in earnest, let no man expect a reformation of the manners of the laity; for 'tis not learning, but this, this only, that must do it; and till then the fault must lie at our doors.'

In another walk to Salisbury he saw a poor man, with a poorer horse, that was fall'n under his load. They were both in distress, and needed present help; which Mr. Herbert perceiving, put off his canonical coat, and help'd the poor man to unload, and after to load his horse. The poor man blest him for it, and he blest the poor man, and was so like the good Samaritan, that he gave him money to refresh both himself and his horse, and told him that if he lov'd himself,

he should be merciful to his beast. Thus he left the poor man; and at his coming to his musical friends at Salisbury, they began to wonder that Mr. George Herbert, which us'd to be so trim and clean, came into that company so soyl'd and discompos'd; but he told them the occasion; and when one of the company told him he had disparag'd himself by so dirty an employment, his answer was, 'That the thought of what he had done would prove musick to him at midnight, and the omission of it would have upbraided and made discord in his conscience whensoever he should pass by that place; for if I be bound to pray for all that be in distress, I am sure that I am bound, so far as it is in my power, to practise what I pray for. And though I do not wish for the like occasion every day, yet let me tell you, I would not willingly pass one day of my life without comforting a sad soul or shewing mercy; and I praise God for this occasion. And now let's tune our instruments.'[64]

Thus, as our blessed Saviour after His resurrection did take occasion to interpret the Scripture to Cleopas and that other disciple which He met with, and accompanied too, in their journey to Emmaus, so Mr. Herbert, in his path toward heaven, did daily take any fair occasion to instruct the ignorant, or comfort any that were in affliction, and did alwayes confirm his precepts by shewing [humility and] mercy (73), [and ministering grace to the hearers].

And he was most happy in his wife's unforc'd compliance with his acts of charity, whom he made his almoner, and paid constantly into her hand a tenth penny of what money he receiv'd for tythe, and gave her a power to dispose that to the poor of his parish, and with it a power to dispose a tenth part of the corn that came yearly into his barn; which trust she did most faithfully perform, and would often offer to him an account of her stewardship, and as often beg an inlargement of his bounty, for she rejoyc'd in the employment; and this was usually laid out by her in blankets and shooes for some such poor people as she knew to stand in most need of them. This as to her charity. And for his own he set no limits to it, nor did ever turn his face from any that he saw in want, but would relieve them, especially his poor neighbours; to the meanest of whose houses he would go and inform himself of their wants, and relieve them chearfully if they were in distress; and would alwayes praise God as much for being willing as for being able to do it. And when he was advis'd by a friend to be more frugal, because he might have children, his answer was, 'He would not see the danger of want so far off; but being[65] the Scripture does so commend charity, as to tell us that charity is the top of Christian vertues, the covering of sins, the fulfilling of the law, the life of faith; and that charity hath a promise of the blessings of this life, and of a reward in

that life which is to come; being these and more excellent things are in Scripture spoken of thee, O Charity; and that being all my tythes and church-dues are a deodate[66] from Thee, O my God, make me, O my God, so far to trust Thy promise, as to return them back to Thee; and by Thy grace I will do so, in distributing them to any of Thy poor members that are in distress, or do but bear the image of Jesus my Master. Sir,' said he to his friend, 'my wife hath a competent maintenance secur'd her after my death; and therefore, as this is my prayer, so this my resolution shall, by God's grace, be unalterable.'

This may be some account of the excellencies of the active part of his life; and thus he continued till a consumption so weakned him, as to confine him to his house or to the chappel, which does almost join to it, in which he continued to read prayers constantly twice every day, though he were very weak; in one of which times of his reading his wife observ'd him to read in pain, and told him so, and that it wasted his spirits and weakned him; and he confess'd it did, but said, 'his life could not be better spent than in the service of his Master Jesus, Who had done and suffered so much for him. But,' he said, 'I will not be wilful; for (74) Mr. Bostock shall be appointed to read prayers for me to-morrow; and I will now be only a hearer of them, till this mortal shall put on immortality.' And Mr. Bostock did the next day undertake

and continue this happy employment till Mr. Herbert's death. This Mr. Bostock was a learned and vertuous man; an old friend of Mr. Herbert's, and then his curate to the church of Fulston, which is a mile from Bemerton, to which church Bemerton is but a chapel of ease. And this Mr. Bostock did also constantly supply the church service for Mr. Herbert in that chappel, when the musick-meeting at Salisbury caus'd his absence from it.[67]

About one month before his death, his friend Mr. Farrer (for an account of whom I am by promise indebted to the reader, and intend to make him sudden payment) hearing of Mr. Herbert's sickness, sent Mr. Edmund Duncon (who is now rector of Fryer Barnet, in the county of Middlesex) from his house of Gidden Hall, which is near to Huntingdon, to see Mr. Herbert, and to assure him he wanted not his daily prayers for his recovery; and Mr. Duncon was to return back to Gidden with an account of Mr. Herbert's condition. Mr. Duncon found him (75) at that time lying on his bed or on a pallet; but at his seeing Mr. Duncon he rais'd himself vigorously, saluted him, and with some earnestness inquir'd the health of his brother Farrer, of which Mr. Duncon satisfied him; and after a conference (76) of Mr. Farrer's holy life, and the manner of his constant serving God, he said to Mr. Duncon, 'Sir, I see by your habit that you are a priest, and I desire you to pray with me;' which being granted,

Mr. Duncon asked him, what prayers? to which Mr. Herbert's answer was, 'O sir, the prayers of my mother the Church of England, no other prayers are equal to them; but at this time I beg of you to pray only the Litany, for I am weak and faint;' and Mr. Duncon did so. After which, and some other discourse of Mr. Farrer, Mrs. Herbert provided Mr. Duncon a plain supper and a clean lodging, and he betook himself to rest. This Mr. Duncon tells me, that at his first view of Mr. Herbert he saw majesty and humility so reconcil'd in his looks and behaviour, as begot in him an awful reverence for his person; and sayes his discourse was so pious, and his motion so gentile[68] and meek, that after almost forty years they remain still fresh in his memory.

The next morning Mr. Duncon left him, and betook himself to a journey to Bath, but with a promise to return back to him within five days, and he did so; but before I shall say anything of what discourse then fell betwixt them two, I will pay my promised account of Mr. Farrer.

Mr. Nicholas Farrer (who got the reputation of being called St. Nicholas at the age of six years) was born in London, and doubtless had good education in his youth; but certainly was at a fit[69] age made Fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge, where he continued to be eminent for his piety, temperance, and learning. About the 26th year of his age he betook himself to travel,

in which he added to his Latin and Greek a perfect knowledge of all the languages spoken in the western parts of our Christian world, and understood well the principles of their religion and of their manner, and the reasons of their worship. In this his travel he met with many perswasions to come into a communion with that Church which calls itself Catholick; but he return'd from his travels as he went, eminent for his obedience to his mother the Church of England. In his absence from England, Mr. Farrer's father (who was a merchant) allowed him a liberal maintenance, and not long after his return into England he had, by the death of his father, or an elder brother, [or both] (77), an estate left him that enabled him to buy[70] land to the value of 500*l.* a year, the greatest part of which land was at Little Gidden, four or six miles from Huntingdon, and about 18 from Cambridge, which place he chose for the privacy of it, and the Hall which had the parish church or chappel belonging and adjoining near to it; for Mr. Farrer having seen the manners and vanities of the world, and found them to be, as Mr. Herbert says, 'a nothing between two dishes,' did so contemn the world, that he resolv'd to spend the remainder of his life in mortifications, and in devotion and charity, and to be alwayes prepar'd for death: and his life was spent thus:

He and his family, which were like a little colledge and about thirty in number, did most of them keep

Lent and all Ember-weeks strictly, both in fasting and using all those (78) prayers that the Church hath appointed to be then used; and he and they did the like constantly on Fridayes, and on the vigils or eves appointed to be fasted before the saints' dayes; and this frugality and abstinence turn'd to the relief of the poor. But this was but a part of his charity: none but God and he knew the rest.

This family, which I have said to be in number about thirty, were a part of them his kindred, and the rest chosen to be of a temper fit to be moulded into a devout life; and all of them were for their dispositions serviceable and quiet and humble, and free from scandal. Having thus fitted himself for his family, he did, about the year 1630, betake himself to a constant and methodical service of God, and it was in this manner: he, [being accompanied with most of his family,] did himself use to read the common prayers (for he was a deacon) every day at the appointed hours of ten and four, in the parish church, which was very near his house, and which he had both repair'd and adorn'd, for it was fall'n into a great ruine by reason of a depopulation of the village before Mr. Farrer bought the mannor; and he did also constantly read the mattins every morning at the hour of six, either in the church, or in an oratory which was within his own house; and many of the family did there continue with him after the prayers were ended, and there they spent

some hours in singing hymns or anthems, sometimes in the church, and often to an organ in the oratory. And there they sometimes betook themselves to meditate, or to pray privately, or to read a part of the New Testament [to themselves,] or to continue their praying or reading the psalms; and in case the psalms were not all[71] read in the day, then Mr. Farrer and others of the congregation did at night, at the ring of a watch-bell, repair to the church or oratory, and there betake themselves to prayers and lauding God, and reading the psalms that had not been read in the day; and when these or any part of the congregation grew weary or faint, the watch-bell was rung, sometimes before and sometimes after midnight, and then another part of the family rose and maintain'd the watch, sometimes by praying or singing lauds to God, or reading the psalms; and when after some hours they also grew weary or faint, then they rung the watch-bell, and were [also] reliev'd by some of the former, or by a new part of the society, which continued their devotions (as hath been mentioned) until morning. And it is to be noted, that in this continued serving of God, the Psalter or whole book of Psalms was in every four-and-twenty hours sung or read over from the first to the last verse; and this was done as constantly as the sun runs his circle every day about the world, and then begins again the same instant that it ended.

Thus did Mr. Farrer and his happy family serve

God day and night. Thus did they alwayes behave themselves as in His presence. And they did alwayes eat and drink by the strictest rules of temperance—eat and drink so as to be ready to rise at midnight or at the call of a watch-bell, and perform their devotions to God. And 'tis fit to tell the reader, that many of the clergy, that were more inclin'd to practical piety and devotion then to doubtful and needless disputations, did often come to Gidden Hall and make themselves a part of that happy society, and stay a week or more, and join with Mr. Farrer and the family in these devotions, and assist and ease him or them in the watch by night. And these various devotions had never less than two of the domestick family in the night; and the watch was alwayes kept in the church or oratory, unless in extreme cold winter nights, and then it was maintain'd in a parlor which had a fire in it, and the parlor was fitted for that purpose. And this course of piety and great liberality to his poor neighbours Mr. Farrer maintain'd till his death, which was in the year 1639.

Mr. Farrer's and Mr. Herbert's devout lives were both so noted, that the general report of their sanctity gave them occasion to renew that slight acquaintance which was begun at their being contemporaries in Cambridge; and this new holy friendship was long maintain'd without any interview, but only by loving and endearing letters. And one testimony of their

friendship and pious designs may appear by Mr. Farrer's commending the *Considerations of John Valdesso* (a book which he had met with in his travels, and translated out of Spanish into English) to be examin'd and censur'd by Mr. Herbert [before it was made publick] (79); which book Mr. Herbert did read, and return back with many marginal notes, as they be now printed with that excellent book; and with them Mr. Herbert's affectionate letter to Mr. Farrer.[72]

This John Valdesso was a Spaniard, and was for his learning and vertue much valued and lov'd by the great Emperour Charles V., whom Valdesso had followed as a cavalier all the time of his long and dangerous wars; and when Valdesso grew old, and weary [both of war and] the world (80), he took his fair opportunity to declare to the emperour that his resolution was to decline his Majestie's service, and betake himself to a quiet and contemplative life, because there ought to be a vacancy of time betwixt fighting and dying. The emperor had himself, for the same or other like reasons, put on the same resolutions; but God and himself did then only know them, and he did therefore desire Valdesso to consider well of what he had said, and to keep his purpose within his own breast till they two might have a second opportunity of a friendly discourse, which Valdesso promis'd. (81)

In the mean time the emperour appoints privately a day for him and Valdesso to [meet again; and after a

pious and free discourse, they both agreed on a certain day to] receive the blessed Sacrament publicly, and appointed an eloquent and devout fryer to preach a sermon of contempt of the world, and of the happiness and benefit of a quiet and contemplative life; which the fryer did most affectionately. After which sermon the emperour declar'd openly (82), 'that the preacher had begot in him a resolution to lay down his dignities, and to forsake the world, and betake himself to a monastical life.' And he pretended he had perswaded John Valdesso to do the like; but this is most certain, that after the emperour had called his son Philip out of England, and resign'd to him all his kingdoms, that then the emperour and John Valdesso did perform their resolutions.

This account of John Valdesso I receiv'd from a friend, that had it from the mouth of Mr. Farrer. And the reader may note, that in this retirement John Valdesso wrote his 110 Considerations, and many other treatises of worth, which want a second Mr. Farrer to procure and translate them.[73]

After this account of Mr. Farrer and John Valdesso, I proceed to my account of Mr. Herbert and Mr. Duncon, who, according to his promise, return'd [from Bath (83)] the fifth day, and then found Mr. Herbert much weaker than he left him, and therefore their discourse could not be long; but at Mr. Duncon's parting with him, Mr. Herbert spoke to this purpose:

'Sir, I pray give my brother Farrer an account of my decaying condition (84), and tell him I beg him to continue his daily prayers for me.[74] And let him know that I have consider'd that God only is what He would be, and that I am, by His grace, become now so like Him as to be pleased with what pleaseth Him, and (85) do not repine at my want of health; and tell him my heart is fixed on that place where true joy is only to be found; and that I long to be there, and do wait for my appointed change with hope and patience.' And having said this, he did, with such a humility (86) as seem'd to exalt him, bow down to Mr. Duncon, and with a thoughtful and contented look say to him: 'Sir, I pray deliver this little book to my dear brother Farrer, and tell him he shall find in it a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that have past betwixt God and my soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus my Master, in Whose service I have now found perfect freedom; desire him to read it, and then, if he can think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected poor soul, let it be made publick; if not, let him burn it, for I and it are less than the least of God's mercies.' Thus meanly did this humble man think of this excellent book, which now bears the name of the *Temple, or Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations*, of which Mr. Farrer would say: 'There was in it the picture of a divine soul in every page; and that the whole book was such a harmony of holy pas-

sions, as would enrich the world with pleasure and piety.' And it appears to have done so; for there have been more than twenty thousand of them sold since the first impression.

And this ought to be noted, that when Mr. Farrer sent this book to Cambridge to be licensed for the press, the Vice-Chancellor would by no means allow the two so much-noted verses,

> 'Religion stands a-tiptoe in our land,
> Ready to pass to the American strand,'

to be printed; and Mr. Farrer would by no means allow the book to be printed and want them. But after some time and some arguments for and against their being made publick, the Vice-Chancellor said, 'I knew Mr. Herbert well, and know that he had many heavenly speculations, and was a divine poet; but I hope the world will not take him to be an inspired prophet, and therefore I license the whole book.' So that it came to be printed without the diminution or addition of a syllable since it was delivered into the hands of Mr. Duncon, save only that Mr. Farrer hath added that excellent preface that is printed before it.

At the time of Mr. Duncon's leaving Mr. Herbert (which was about three weeks before his death), his old and dear friend Mr. Woodnot came from London to Bemerton, and never left him till he had seen him draw his last breath and clos'd his eyes on his death-bed. In this time of his decay he was often visited

and pray'd for by all the clergy that liv'd near to him, especially by his friends the bishop and prebends of the cathedral church in Salisbury; but by none more devoutly than his wife, his three neeces (then a part of his family[75]), and Mr. Woodnot, who were the sad witnesses of his daily decay; to whom he would often speak to this purpose: 'I now look back upon the pleasures of my life past, and see the content I have taken in beauty, in wit, and musick, and pleasant conversation: how they are now all past by me as a shadow that returns not, and are all (87) become dead to me or I to them. And I see that as my father and generation hath done before me, so I also shall now suddenly (with Job) "make my bed also in the dark," and I praise God I am prepar'd for it; and I praise Him that I am not to learn patience now I stand in such need of it, and that I have practised mortification, and endeavour'd to dye daily, that I might not dye eternally; and my hope is that I shall shortly leave this valley of tears, and be free from all fevers and pain; and, which will be a more happy condition, I shall be free from sin and all the temptations and anxieties that attend it; and this being past, I shall dwell in the new Jerusalem, dwell there with men made perfect, dwell where these eyes shall see my Master and Saviour Jesus, and with Him see my dear mother and relations and friends. But I must dye, or not come to that happy place. And this is my content, that I am going daily towards it, and

that every day that I have liv'd hath taken a part of my appointed time from me, and that I shall live the less time for having liv'd this and the day past.' These and the like expressions, which he utter'd often, may be said to be his enjoyment of heaven before he enjoy'd it. The Sunday before his death he rose suddenly from his bed or couch, call'd for one of his instruments, took it into his hand, and said,

> 'My God, my God,
> My musick shall find Thee,
> And every string
> Shall have his attribute to sing.'

And having tun'd it, he play'd and sung:

> 'The Sundayes of man's life,
> Thredded together on Time's string,
> Make bracelets to adorn the wife
> Of the eternal glorious King:
> On Sundayes heaven's dore stands ope;
> Blessings are plentiful and rife,
> More plentiful than hope.'

Thus he sung on earth such hymns and anthems as the angels and he and Mr. Farrer now sing in heaven.

Thus he continued meditating and praying and rejoycing till the day of his death; and on that day said to Mr. Woodnot: 'My dear friend, I am sorry I have nothing to present to my merciful God but sin and misery; but the first is pardon'd, and a few hours will now put a period to the latter, for I shall suddenly go hence and be no more seen.' Upon which expression

Mr. Woodnot took occasion to remember him of the re-edifying Layton church, and his many acts of mercy; to which he made answer, saying: 'They be good works if they be sprinkled with the blood of Christ, and not otherwise.' After this discourse he became more restless, and his soul seem'd to be weary of her earthly tabernacle; and this uneasiness became so visible that his wife, his three neeces, and Mr. Woodnot stood constantly about his bed, beholding him with sorrow, and an unwillingness to lose the sight of him whom they could not hope to see much longer. As they stood thus beholding him, his wife observ'd him to breathe faintly and with much trouble, and observ'd him to fall into a sudden agony, which so surpriz'd her that she fell into a sudden passion, and requir'd of him to know 'how he did?' to which his answer was, 'that he had past a conflict with his last enemy, and had overcome him by the merits of his Master Jesus.' After which answer he look'd up, and saw his wife and neeces weeping to an extremity, and charg'd them, 'If they lov'd him, to withdraw into the next room, and there pray every one alone for him; for nothing but their lamentations could make his death uncomfortable.' To which request their sighs and tears would not suffer them to make any reply; but they yielded him a sad obedience, leaving only with him Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock. Immediately after they had left him he said to Mr. Bostock, 'Pray, sir, open that door, then look

into that cabinet, in which you may easily find my last will, and give it into my hand;' which being done he deliver'd it into the hand of Mr. Woodnot, and said, 'My old friend, I here deliver you my last will, in which you will find that I have made you my sole executor for the good of my wife and neeces; and I desire you to show kindness to them, as they shall need it. I do not desire you to be just, for I know you will be so for your own sake. But I charge you, by the religion of our friendship, to be careful of them.' And having obtain'd Mr. Woodnot's promise to be so, he said, 'I am now ready to die.' After which words he said, 'Lord, grant me mercy, for the merits of my Jesus. (88) And now, Lord, receive my soul.' And with those words he breath'd forth his divine soul without any apparent disturbance, Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock attending his last breath and closing his eyes.

Thus he liv'd and thus he dy'd like a saint, unspotted of the world, full of alms-deeds, full of humility and all the examples of a vertuous life, which I cannot conclude better then with this borrowed observation:

> 'All must to their cold graves;
> But the religious actions of the just
> Smell sweet in death, and blossom in the dust.'[76]

Mr. George Herbert's have done so to this, and will doubtless do so to succeeding generations. (89)

There is a debt justly due to the memory of Mr. Herbert's vertuous wife; a part of which I will endeavour to pay by a very short accompt of the remainder of her life, which shall follow.

She continued his disconsolate widow about six (90) years, bemoaning herself, and complaining, 'that she had lost the delight of her eyes;' but more, 'that she had lost the spiritual guide for her poor soul;' and would often say, 'O that I had, like holy Mary, the mother of Jesus, treasur'd up all his sayings in my heart! but since I have not been able to do that, I will labour to live like him, that where he now is, I may be also.' And she would often say (as the prophet David for his son Absalom), 'O that I had dy'd for him!' Thus she continued mourning, till time and conversation had so moderated her sorrows, that she became the happy wife of Sir Robert Cook of Highnam, in the county of Gloucester, knight.[77] And though he put a high value on the excellent accomplishments of her mind and body, and was so like Mr. Herbert as not to govern like a master, but as an affectionate husband, yet she would even to him often take occasion to mention the name of Mr. George Herbert, and say, 'that name must live in her memory till she put off mortality.' By Sir Robert she had only one child, a daughter, whose parts and plentiful estate make her happy in this world, and her well using of them gives a fair testimony that she will be so in that which is to come.

Mrs. Herbert was the wife of Sir Robert eight years, and liv'd his widow about fifteen; all which time she took a pleasure in mentioning and commending the excellencies of Mr. George Herbert. She died in the year 1663, and lies buried at Highnam;[78] Mr. Herbert in his own church under the altar, and cover'd with a gravestone without any inscription.[79]

This Lady Cook had preserv'd many of Mr. Herbert's private writings, which she intended to make publick; but they and Highnam House were burnt together by the late rebels, and so lost to posterity (91); and by them was also burnt or destroyed a choice library which Mr. Herbert had fastned with chains in a fit room in Montgomery Castle, being by him dedicated to the succeeding Herberts that should become the owners of it. He dyed without an enemy, if Andrew Melvin dyed before him.

Finis.

APPENDIX A.

Various Readings and Additions from later texts of the Life printed in Italics. The additions of (1), (2), (3), *and others are inserted within brackets* [ ].

(1) p. 9, 'pardoned, *and the joy of knowing her happy condition*, she also.'

(2) p. 10, 'the *several* employments and accidents.'

(3) p. 10, '*I have only seen him.*' This was not in the first edition, and is important, as it informs us Walton had seen Herbert once at any rate. This assures us that the Portrait prefixed to the Life of 1670 received the biographer's personal sanction; but see our remarks on that later (1674) in our Preface to Vol. I.

(4) p. 10. In first edition simply 'in their lives; or do now know their writings.'

(5) p. 12, '*and Job's distribution*' was added later—a reminiscence of Barnabas Oley.

(6) p. 12, '*very* often.'

(7) p. 15, 'four years: *I am next to tell*'—tautological.

(8) p. 18, 'You may take one testimony *for . . . of these two worthy persons.*'

(9) p. 19, 'accepting him *to be so.*'

(10) p. 20, 'and I beg . . . . testimony:' added later.

(11) p. 24, 'King James, *upon the occasion of his sending that.*'

(12) p. 24, 'Andrew Melville.' For the later account of Melville, changed to the worse and not creditably to 'meek' Walton, see our Essay, Vol. II. pp. l.-li.

(13) p. 26, 'caus'd *many of* them to be printed.' The collection is complete; for the epigrams touch on all the topics of Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria.

(14) p. 26, '*comedies*' inserted later.

(15) p. 27, 'debate *betwixt them two.*'

(16) p. 27, 'language and *reason of it.*'

(17) p. 27, 'to *many* scholars.'

(18) p. 28, 'of state, *he* being *at that time very* high.'

(19) p. 28, '*wheresoever the court was:*' added later.

(20) p. 28, '*but* then . . . . *and* at other times.'

(21) p. 29, '*too thoughtful a wit* . . . . *too* narrow'—less characteristic.

(22) p. 29, '*and* though . . . . *to both.*'

(23) p. 31, 'James dyed *also.*'

(24) p. 31, 'health *more than his study had done.*'

(25) p. 31, '*ad*judg'd that.'

(26) p. 34, 'where *she* then dwelt:' the 'he' seems correct, and the reference (grammatically loose) to 'London,' where Herbert dwelt.

(27) p. 34, '*a kind of* a vow:' this the 1670 reading is preferable to 'a vow' simply.

(28) p. 35. 'From whom Mr. Woodnot carried to his mother this following letter, and delivered it to her in a sickness, which was not long before that which proved to be her last.' Not in 1670 edition. The letter finds a more fitting place among the collected letters in the present volume.

(29) p. 36, '*then of that family:*' added later.

(30) p. 36, 'lov'd Mr. Herbert *so very* much, *that he* . . . . in *it* . . . . *with his.*'

(31) p. 37, 'then *presently* declined *it.*'

(32) p. 37, '*for they* . . . . that *they purchased love and respect from all that knew him.*'

(33) p. 38, 'city, *and* . . . . got *such* possession.'

(34) p. 38, 'such as were *true* friends.'

(35) p. 39, 'mutual *and equal* affections.'

(36) p. 40, '*at receiving this presentation:*' added later.

(37) p. 40, 'pray *often.*'

(38) p. 40, '*and at this* time.'

(39) p. 40, '*then Bishop of London, and after:*' added later.

(40) p. 41, 'must stop *here.*'

(41) p. 42, '*and though* . . . . *eloquence:*' added later.

(42) p. 42, 'to *those* friends.'

(43) p. 43, 'assisting grace, *give me ghostly strength.* . . . . *And I beseech Him.*'

(44) p. 43, '*my* title:' 'any' of 1670 seems more beautifully lowly.

(45) p. 43, 'place, *of his poems.*'

(46) p. 45, 'a fear *and that begot a :*' 1670 much more simply told.

(47) p. 45, 'compassionate her, *and was so humble :*' the latter over-done.

(48) p. 46, 'some relief *for a poor body :*' added later.

(49) p. 46, '*like a Christian clergyman :*' added later.

(50) p. 46, 'in his own eyes: *and thus lovely in the eyes of others :*' added later.

(51) p. 46, '*the greatest part of :*' added later.

(52) p. 47, '*and conversed with*' him: added later.

(53) p. 48, '*then resolved upon* in that order:' added later. An impossibility that these numerous 'rules' could 'then' in so few minutes be 'resolved upon.'

(54) p. 49, 'way of preaching; *for since Almighty God does not intend to lead men to heaven by hard questions*, He would not *therefore*.'

(55) p. 50, '*future* sermons:' added later.

(56) p. 50, '*Sunday :*' in 1670 'day.'

(57) p. 50, 'church-service:' in 1670 'service' only.

(58) p. 50, 'we dare *and do* proceed.'

(59) p. 51, '*into those* . . . . of joy *that he did* see it . . . . praise . . . . for that *particular* mercy.'

(60) p. 52, 'blessings *daily*, and stand up.'

(61) p. 55, 'how *time passes* by us.'

(62) p. 55, 'mercies which *those days* . . . . *they were to note, that* the.'

(63) p. 55, 'that *day which* we call.'

(64) p. 56, 'buried; and . . . . with *His disciples*.'

(65) p. 56, 'holy *commemorations*.'

(66) p. 57, 'have *an obedient and :*' not in agreement with what follows.

(67) p. 58, 'they pray'd, *and why they* prais'd.'

(68) p. 59, 'piety *and devotion*.'

(69) p. 59, 'and *did himself compose*.'

(70) p. 60, 'praiseth God *for the occasion of knowing him*.'

(71) p. 60, 'for the *decay of piety, and too general* contempt.'

(72) p. 61, 'knew them *to be such*.'

(73) p. 62, 'by shewing *humility and* mercy, *and ministering grace to the hearers*.'

(74) p. 64, 'for *though my spirit be willing, yet I find my flesh is weak; and therefore Mr.* Bostock:' 1670 simpler and preferable.

(75) p. 65, 'Mr. Duncon found him *weak, and.*'

(76) p. 65, 'and after *some discourse.*'

(77) p. 67, '*Mr. Farrer* had . . . . *or both :*' added later.

(78) p. 68, 'using all those *mortifications and* prayers.'

(79) p. 71, '*before it was made publick :*' added later. Later 'that excellent book' cancelled.

(80) p. 71, 'old, and *grew* weary *both of war and* the world.'

(81) p. 71, 'Valdesso promis'd *to do.*'

(82) p. 72, 'the emperour *took occasion to declare.*'

(83) p. 72, '*the Bath :*' added later, but 'the' seems an error.

(84) p. 73, '*the* decaying condition *of my body :*' 1670 simpler and better.

(85) p. 73, 'and *tell him, that I* do not repine, *but am pleased with :*' 1670 preferable.

(86) p. 73, 'with *so sweet* a humility.'

(87) p. 75, 'conversation, *are now all past by me like a dream, or as a shadow that returns not, and are now all* become dead to me :' 1670 again simpler and preferable.

(88) p. 78, 'which words he said, Lord, *forsake me not, now my strength faileth me; but* . . . . And now, Lord, *Lord now* receive :' 1670 once more simpler and better.

(89) p. 78, 'succeeding generations. I have but this to say more of him, that if *Andrew Melvin* died before him, then George Herbert died without an enemy. I wish (if God shall be so pleased) that I may be so happy as to die like him :' added later. Cf. close onward.

(90) p. 79. In 1670 '*five* years.' She was a widow 'about *six.*'

(91) p. 80, 'posterity; *and by them,*' &c. The clause after 'posterity' was afterwards cancelled. G.

APPENDIX B.

Additional Notices of Herbert by Izaak Walton in his other Works.

For the life of that great example of holinesse, Mr. George Herbert, I profess it to be so far a *free-will offering*, that it

was writ chiefly to please myself, but yet not without some respect to posterity; for though he was not a man that the next age can forget, yet many of his particular acts and vertues might have been neglected or lost if I had not collected and presented them to the imitation of those that shall succeed us; for I humbly conceive writing to be both a safer and truer preserver of men's vertuous actions then tradition, especially as it is managed in this age. And I am also to tell the reader that though this life of Mr. Herbert was not writ by me in haste, yet I intended it a review before it should be made public. But that was not allowed me, by reason of my absence from London when it was printing; so that the reader may find in it some mistakes, some double expressions, and some not very proper, and some that might have been contracted, and some faults that are not justly chargeable upon me, but the printer; and yet I hope none so great as may not, by this confession, purchase pardon from a good-natured reader.

WALTON *to the Reader—Collected Lives.*

From the Life of Dr. Donne.

And in this enumeration of his friends, though many must be omitted, yet that man of primitive piety, Mr. George Herbert, may not. I mean that George Herbert who was the author of the *Temple, or Sacred Poems and Ejaculations;* a book in which, by declaring his own spirituall conflicts, he hath raised many a dejected and discomposed soul, and charmed them into sweet and quiet thoughts; a book, by the frequent reading whereof and the assistance of that Spirit that seemed to inspire the author, the reader may attain habits of *peace* and *piety* and all the gifts of the Holy Ghost and Heaven; and by still reading, still keep those sacred fires burning upon the altar of so pure a heart as shall be freed from the anxieties of the world and fixt upon things that are above. Betwixt him and Dr. Donne there was a long and dear friendship, made up by such a sympathy of inclinations, that they coveted and joyed to be in each other's company; and this happy friendship was still maintained by many sacred endearments, of which that which followeth may be some testimony.

To Mr. George Herbert, with one of my Seales of the Anchor and Christ. A sheafe of Snakes used heretofore to be my Seal, which is the Crest of our poor Family.

Qui prius assuetus serpentum falce tabellas
Signare, haec nostra symbola parva domus
Adscitus domui domini.

Adopted in God's family, and so
My old coat lost, into new arms I go.
The crosse my seal in Baptism, spread below,
Does by that form into an anchor grow.
Crosses grow anchors; bear as thou shouldst do
Thy crosse, and that crosse grows an anchor too.
But He that makes our crosses anchors thus
Is Christ, Who there is crucify'd for us.
Yet with this I may my first serpents hold;
God gives new blessings, and yet leaves the old.
The serpent may, as wise, my pattern be,
My poyson, as he feeds on dust, that's me.
And, as he rounds the earth to murder, sure
He is my death; but on the Cross my cure.
Crucifie nature, then; and then implore
All grace from Him, crucify'd there before.
When all is crosse, and that crosse anchor grown,
This seale's a catechisme, not a seal alone.
Under that little seal great gifts I send,
Both workes and prayers, pawnes and fruits of a friend.
Oh may that saint that rides on our great seal
To you that beare his name large bounty deal!

J. Donne.

In Sacram Anchoram Piscatoris, George Herbert.

Quod Crux nequibat fixa clavique additi,
Tenere Christum scilicet ne ascenderet,
Tuive Christum. . . . . .

Although the Cross could not Christ here detain
When nail'd unto 't, but He ascends again;
Nor yet thy eloquence here keep Him still,
But onely whilst thou speakst this anchor will:

Nor canst thou be content unless thou to
This certain Anchor add a seal, and so
The water and the earth both unto thee
Do owe the symbole of their certaintie.
Let the world reel, we and all ours stand sure,
This holy cable's from all storms secure. G. H.

Love neere his death desir'd to end
With kind expressions to his friend;
He writ when's hand could write no more;
He gave his soul, and so gave o're. G. HERBERT.

(The Life of Donne, second edition, 1658, pp. 81-85: cf. variations of these four closing lines in Vol. II. p. 169, where the reader will please read 'rise' for 'rose,' inadvertently left.)

In the Complete Angler, Chap. I.

But, sir, lest this discourse may seem tedious, I shall give it a sweet conclusion out of that holy poet, Mr. George Herbert, his divine contemplations on God's providence:

Lord, who hath praise enough, &c.

(Vol. I. p. 137, line 141.)

In the Complete Angler, Chap. V.

Pisc. And now, scholar, my direction for fly-fishing is ended with this shower, for it has done raining. And now look about you, and see how pleasantly that meadow looks; nay, and the earth smells as sweetly too. Come let me tell you what holy Mr. Herbert says of such days and flowers as these, and then we will thank God that we enjoy them; and walk to the river and sit down quietly, and try to catch the other brace of trouts.

Sweet day, so cool, so calm, so bright!

(Vol. I. p. 99.)

Ven. I thank you, good master, for your good direction for fly-fishing, and for the sweet enjoyment of the pleasant day, which is, so far, spent without offence to God or man. And I thank you for the sweet close of your discourse with Mr. Herbert's verses, who, I have heard, loved angling; and I do the rather believe it, because he had a spirit suitable to anglers

and to those primitive Christians that you love and have so much commended.

Pisc. Well, my loving scholar, and I am pleased to know that you are so well pleased with my direction and discourse. And since you like these verses of Mr. Herbert's so well, let me tell you what a reverend and learned divine [Ch. Harvie] that professes to imitate him, and has indeed done so most excellently, hath writ of our Book of Common Prayer, which I know you will like the better, because he is a friend of mine, and I am sure no enemy to angling.

What! Pray'r by th' book? and common? Yes; why not?

(See The Synagogue, or Shadow of The Temple, by Christopher Harvie, in volume accompanying our edition of HERBERT, being No. 13.)

APPENDIX C.

Letters of Dr. Donne to his Mother the Lady Magdalene Herbert.

From the 'Letters' as originally published with Walton's Life in 1670.

I. *To the worthiest Lady, Mrs. Magdalen Herbert.*

Madam,—Every excuse hath in it somewhat of accusation; and since I am innocent, and yet must excuse, how shall I do for that part of accusing? By my troth, as desperate and perplexed men grow from thence bold, so must I take the boldness of accusing you, who would draw so dark a curtain betwixt me and your purposes, as that I had no glimmering, either of your goings nor the way which my letters might haunt. Yet I have given this licence to travel, but I know not whither, nor it. It is therefore rather a pinnace to discover, and the intire colony of letters, of hundreds and fifties, must follow; whose employment is more honourable than that which our State meditates to Virginia, because you are worthier than all that countrey, of which that is a wretched inch; for you have better treasure and a harmlessness. If this sound like a flattery, tear it out. I am to my letters as rigid a Puritane as Cæsar was to his wife.

I can as ill endure a suspitious and misinterpretable word as a fault; but remember that nothing is flattery which the speaker believes; and of the grossest flatteries there is this good use, that they tell us what we should be. But, madam, you are beyond instruction, and therefore there can belong to you only praise; of which, though you be no good hearer, yet allow all my letters leave to have in them one part of it, which is thankfulness towards you.—Your unworthiest servant, except your accepting have mended him, JOHN DONNE.

Michin, July 11, 1607.

II. *To the worthiest Lady, Mrs. Magdalen Herbert.*

Madam,—This is my second letter, in which, though I cannot tell you what is good, yet this is the worst, that I must be a great part of it; yet to me that is recompensed, because you must be mingled. After I knew you were gone (for I must little less than accusingly tell you I knew not you would go) I sent my first letter, like a Bevis of Hampton, to seek adventures. This day I came to town, and to the best part of it, your house; for your memory is a state-cloth and presence, which I reverence, though you be away, though I need not seek that there which I have about and within me. There, though I found my accusation, yet anything to which your hand is, is a pardon; yet I would not burn my first letter, because as in great destiny no small passage can be omitted or frustrated, so in my resolution of writing almost daily to you I would have no link of the chain broke by me, both because my letters interpret one another, and because only their number can give them weight. If I had your commission and instructions to do you the service of a legier ambassadour here, I could say something of the Countess of Devon, of the States, and such things. But since to you, who are not only a world alone, but the monarchy of the world yourself, nothing can be added, especially by me.—I will sustain myself with the honour of being your servant extraordinary, and without place,

London, July 23, 1607. JOHN DONNE.

III. *To the worthiest Lady, Mrs. Magdalen Herbert.*

Madam,—As we must dye before we can have full glory and happiness, so before I can have this degree of it, as to see you by a letter, I must almost dye, that is, come to London, to

plaguy London; a place full of danger, and vanity, and vice, though the Court be gone. And such it will be, till your return redeem it: not that the greatest vertue in the world, which is you, can be such a marshal as to defeat or disperse all the vice of this place; but as higher bodies remove or contract themselves when better come, so at your return we shall have one door open to innocence. Yet, madam, you are not such an Ireland as produceth neither ill nor good—no spiders, nor nightingales, which is a rare degree of perfection; but you have found and practised that experiment, that even Nature, out of her detesting of emptiness, if we will make that our work to remove bad, will fill us with good things. To abstain from it was, therefore, but the childhood and minority of your soul, which hath been long exercised since in your manlier active part of doing good. Of which, since I have been a witness and subject, not to tell you sometimes, that by your influence and example I have attained to such a step of goodness as to be thankful, were both to accuse your power and judgement of impotency and infirmity.—Your ladiship's in all services,

August 2, 1607. JOHN DONNE.

APPENDIX D.

Poems in honour of Walton and Herbert.

I. 'Sed magnum vitium quod est poeta.' Martial, l. x. Epig. 76.

Quod sum poeta (hoc et titulo indignus tamen)
Etiam Theologus, siquis hoc vitium putet,
Quot magna mihi patrocinentur nomina,
Apollinaris, Prosper, et Prudentius,
Et Nazianzi fulgidum imprimis jubar?
Sed his omissis, instar omnium mihi,
Queis me tuebor, sunt duo Vates sacri,
Jessæus et Herbertus, ille Regius,
Vetus, ante Templum; Templi hic et Psaltes novus;
Uterque Sanctus; et quidem hoc (me judice)
Poeta nullus Christianus Sanctior.

(Dean Duport's Sylvarum, lib. iii. p. 320, in Musae Subsecivae, 1676.)

Translation.

That I a Poet am, and a Divine
(Though no such title justly may be mine),
If any one impute as fault to me,
Then what great names support me—let him sée:
Apollinaris, Prosper, and the vein
Of silver which pervades Prudentius' strain;
And specially the glittering glory shed
From holy Nazianzen's lofty head.
But leaving these, two sacred Bards are seen,
Equal themselves to all the rest, I ween,
With whom I will defend me; Jesse's son
And Herbert: Royal, old, the former one,
Before the Temple to fair beauty grew;
The latter of another Temple new
Psalmist. Both holy: and indeed, I wis,
No Christian Poet holier than this! R. Wi.

II. In Vitam Mr. Georgii Herberti, ab Isaaco Waltono scriptam.

O quam erubesco cum tuam Vitam lego,
Herberte sancte, quamque me pudet meae!
Ego talpa caecus hic humi fodiens miser;
Aquila volatu tu petens nubes tuo.
Ego choicum vas terreas faeces olens;
Tu (sola namque Urania tibi ex Musis placet)
Nil tale spiras, sed sapis coelum et Deum,
Omnique vitae, libri et omni, linea;
Templumque tecum ubique circumfers tuum,
Domi-porta coeli, cui domus propria, optima;
Ubi rex, ibi Roma, imperii sedes; ubi
Tu, sancte vates, Templum ibi, et coelum, et Deus.
Tu quale nobis intuendum clericis,
Speculum sacerdotale, tu qualem piis
Pastoris ideam et libro et vita tua,
Tu quale sanctitatis et mentis bonae,
Morumque nobis tradis exemplum ac typum!
Typum,* magistro scilicet similem† tuo,
Exemplar illud grande qui solus fuit!

* Sic Christum solens vocavit quoties ejus mentionem fecit.
† Various reading: 'nempe proximum.'

Canonizet ergo Papa quos tandem velit,*
Sibique sanctos, quos facit, servet suos
Colatque; sancte Herberte, tu sanctus meus;
Oraque pro me, dicerem, si fas, tibi.
Sed hos honores par nec est sanctis dari,
Velis nec ipse; recolo te, sed non colo.
Talis legenda est vita sancti, concio
Ad permovendum quam potens et efficax!
Per talia exempla est breve ad coelos iter.
Waltone, macte, perge vitas scribere,
Et penicillo, quo vales, insigni, adhuc
Sanctorum imagines coloribus suis
Plures repraesentare; quod tu dum facis
Vitamque et illis et tibi das posthumam,
Lectoris aeternaeque vitae consulis.
Urge ergo pensum; et interim scias velim,
Plutarchus alter sis licet biographus,
Herberto, amice, vix parallelum dabis.
Liceat libro addere hanc coronidem tuo;
Vir, an poeta, orator an melior fuit,
Meliorne amicus, sponsus, an pastor gregis,
Herbertus, incertum; et quis hoc facile sciat,
Melior ubi ille, qui fuit ubique optimus.

JACOB DUPORT, S.T.P., Decanus Petr.

(Sylvarum, pp. 371-2.)

Translation: On the Life of Mr. George Herbert written by Isaac Walton.

I blush whene'er I read this Life of thine,
O saintly Herbert; all asham'd of mine.
I, a blind mole, earth-burrowing—wretched wight;
An eagle thou, cloud-cleaving in thy flight.
An earthen vessel, I smell earthily;
Thou—Muse Urania only pleases thee—
Dost savour but of heaven and the divine,
Throughout thy life and book, in every line.
Thy Temple thou dost carry everywhere,
Bearer of heaven—no home as thine so fair.
Where the king is, is Rome—the empire's seat;
With thee, blest priest, temple, heaven, God we meet.

* Various reading: 'quos velit Dominus Papa.'

Thou—what a priestly mirror thou dost give,
Wherein we clergy, looking, learn to live!
What an ideal of a pastor, holy
Both in thy book and life and spirit wholly,
Of sanctity and manners and right mind
In thee a sample and a type we find!
A type how like unto thy 'Master' dear,*
That only great Ensample we know here!
The Pope may canonise what saints he will,
And to himself—once made—may keep them still,
And worship: Herbert, be thou saint to me,
And for me pray—I fain would say to thee;
But no such honours to the saints belong,
Nor wouldst thou even wish for what is wrong.
Thee, as is fitting, I will still recall,
Not call on, or before thine image fall.
Such a saint's life be read—potent discourse
To move the hearer's heart with mighty force,
And by example point to heaven the shortest course.
O Walton, persevere such lives to write,
And with thy skilful pencil dipt in light
More likenesses of saints in their own hues
Brightly do thou depict and wide diffuse.
Which task congenial while thou dost pursue
Thou dost thyself and them with life endue
Lasting beyond the grave; and unto thee
Thy reader will owe thanks eternally.
Then ply thy task; but I would have thee know,
Though like a second Plutarch's thy page glow,
No parallel to Herbert thou wilt show.
But to thy book thou mayst assign this crown:
Whether as man or poet, his renown
Were greater; whether most as friend he shone,
Orator, husband, pastor, is unknown.
And how could this be easily express'd
Where he was better who was always best! R. Wi.

III. An Epitaph upon the Honourable George Herbert.

You weeping marbles, monuments, we trust,
As well with the injurious as the just,

* So he used to call Christ whenever he spoke of Him.

When your great trust at last shall be resign'd,
And when his noble dust shall be refin'd,
You shall more gold, myrrh, frankincense return,
Than shall be found in great Augustus' urn.
He was the wonder of a better age,
The eclipse of this, of empty heads the rage.
Phœnix of Wales, of his great name the glory,
A theme above all verse, beyond all story.
A plant of Paradise; which, in a word,
Worms ne'er shall wither, as they did the gourd.
Go, you unborn, bedew dear Herbert's tomb;
No more such babes are in Dame Nature's womb.
No more such blazing comets shall appear,
Nor leave so happy influences here.
Go, thaw your hearts at his celestial fire,
And what you cannot comprehend, admire.
Go, you dark poems, dark even as the skies,
Make the scales fall from our dark dazzling eyes.
Mirrors were made to mend, not mar, our sight,
Glowworms to glitter in the most gloomy night.
About those glorious regions he has fled,
Where once St. Paul was rapt and ravished.
Here a divine, prophet, and poet lies,
That laid up manna for posterities. P. D. *Esq.*

(From 1674 edition of 'The Temple.')

IV. On Mr. George Herbert's Sacred Poems called 'The Temple.'

I.

So long had Poetry possessèd been
By Pagans, that a right in her they claim'd;
Pleaded prescription for their sin,
And laws they made, and arguments they fram'd;
Nor thought it wit if God therein was nam'd
The true God; for of false ones they had store,
Whom devils we may better call:
And ev'rything they deifi'd,
And to a stone, 'Arise, and help!' they cri'd:
And woman-kind they fell before;
Ev'n woman-kind, which caus'd at first their fall,

Were almost the sole subject of their pen,
And the chief deities ador'd by fond and sottish men.

II.

Herbert at last arose,
Herbert inspir'd with holy zeal;
Their arguments he solv'd, their laws he did repeal;
And spight of all th' enragèd foes,
That with their utmost malice did oppose,
He rescu'd the poor captive, Poetry,
Whom her vile masters had before decreed
All her immortal spirit to employ
In painting out the lip or eye
Of some fantastick dame, whose pride incentives did not need.
This mighty Herbert could not brook;
It griev'd his pious soul to see
The best and noblest gift
That God to man has left
Abus'd to serve vile lust, and sordid flattery:
So, glorious arms in her defence he took;
And when with great success he'd set her free,
He rais'd her fancy on a stronger wing;
Taught her of God above and things divine to sing.

III.

Th' infernal Pow'rs that held her fast before,
And great advantage of their pris'ner made,
And drove of souls a gainful trade;
Began to mutiny and war.
So when Demetrius and his partners view'd
Their goddess, and with her their dearer gains to fall;
They draw together a confus'd multitude,
And into th' Theatre they crowd,
And great Diana, great, they loudly call;
Up into th' air their voices flie;
Some one thing, some another crie,
And most of them they know not why.
They crie aloud; 'till the Earth ring again,
Aloud they crie; but all in vain:
Diana down must go; they can no more
Their sinking idol help than she could them before.

Down she must go, with all her pomp and train:
The glorious Gospel-sun her hornèd pride doth stain;
No more to be renew'd, but ever on the wane;
And Poetry, now grown divine, alone must ever reign.

IV.

A mon'ment of this victory
Our David, our sweet Psalmist, rais'd on high,
When he this giant under foot did tread,
And with Verse—his own sword—cut off the monster's head.
For as a sling and heav'n-directed stone
Laid flat the Gathite champion, who alone
Made thousands tremble, while he proudly stood
Bidding defiance to the hosts of God;
So fell th' infernal Pow'rs before the face
Of mighty Herbert; who upon the place
A Temple built, that does outgo
Both Solomon's and Herod's too,
And all the temples of the gods by far;
So costly the materials, and the workmanship so rare,
A Temple built, as God did once ordain,
Without the saw's harsh noise,
Or the untuneful hammer's voice;
But built with sacred Musick's sweetest strain,
Like Theban walls of old, as witty poets feign.

V.

Hail, heav'nly Bard, to whom great Love has giv'n
(His mighty kindness to express)
To bear his three mysterious offices;
Prophet and Priest on Earth thou wast, and now a king in heav'n.
There thou dost reign, and there
Thy bus'ness is the same 'twas here,
And thine old songs thou singest o'er agen.
The Angels and the heav'nly quire
Gaze on thee, and admire
To hear such anthems from an earthly lyre;
Their own hymns almost equall'd by an human pen.
We foolish poets hope in vain
Our works eternity shall gain;

But sure those poems needs must die
Whose theme is but mortality.
Thy wiser and more noble Muse
The best, the only way did chuse
To grow immortal; for what chance can wrong,
What teeth of Time devour that song
Which to a heav'nly tune is set for glorifi'd saints to use?
O may some portion of thy sp'rit on me
(Thy poor admirer) light, whose breast
By wretched mortal loves hath been too long possest!
When, oh! when will the joyful day arise
That, rescu'd from these vanities,
These painted follies, I shall be
If not an inspir'd Poet, yet an holy Priest like thee?

(Poems upon Several Occasions, by Daniel Baker, M.A., 1697, pp. 83-9.)

V. Lines with Herbert's Poems.

The poet's now become a priest, and layes
His poem at your feet, expects no bayes
But your acceptance; kindle it with your eyes,
And make this offering prove a sacrifice.
The vestal fire that's in your breast will burn
Up all his drosse, and make it incense turne;
And then your smile a second life will give,
Hee'l fear no death if you but bid him live.
Pardon this bold ambition, 'tis his drift
To make the altar sanctifie the gift.
Visit this Temple at your vacant houres;
'Twas Herbert's poem once, but now 'tis yours.

Thomas Forde, Loves Labyrinth, 1660.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

[1] p. 9, 'Saint Mary Magdalen . . . . possest with seven devils.' Every opportunity ought to be embraced of correcting the 'vulgar error' of confounding Mary of Magdala with the Mary out of whom 'seven devils' were cast. There is no warrant whatever for regarding the two as one. Few more-to-be-lamented things have been done than giving the name of 'Magdalene' to unfortunate women and institutions for their recovery.

[2] p. 9, 'alablaster box.' Such is the common contemporary spelling, as also in proper names, *e.g.* Dr. William Alablaster, the poet and divine, whose arms suggest the origin to be from *arcubalista*, and synonymous with arbalastier.

[3] p. 10, 'officious' = duty-ful, not in our ill sense of over duty-full, or beyond what is fitting for a man's place and position.

[4] p. 11, 'The place of his birth was near to the town of Montgomery, and in that *castle* that did then bear the name of that town and county.' It would appear from Lord Herbert of Cherbury's 'Autobiography' that the old mansion of Black Hall, rather than Montgomery Castle, was the birthplace of our Herbert. The following speaks for itself: 'My grandfather's power was so great in the country, that divers ancestors of the better families now in Montgomeryshire were his servants, and raised by him. He delighted also much in hospitality, as having a very long table covered every meal with the best meats that could be gotten, and a very great family. It was an ordinary saying in the country at that time, when they saw any fowl rise, "Fly where thou wilt, thou wilt light at Black Hall;" which was a low building of great capacity erected in his age. . . his father and himself in former times having lived in Montgomery Castle' (p. 12, as before). Black Hall was a quaint old-fashioned family-residence, that stood nearer the town than the castle. It was destroyed by fire many years since. From

this doubt (to say the least) of Montgomery Castle having been George Herbert's birthplace, the utterly unsatisfactory character of Mayor's little vignette of the ruins, in common with older, is the less to be regretted.

[5] p. 11, 'those wretches that were the cause of it.' Walton was royalist (*ultra*), and given to scurril words of those who held to the Parliament, as placing the rights and liberties of the kingdom higher than those of any king, and much more such kings as were concerned in the Civil War earlier and the Restoration later. In addition to our remarks in Memorial-Introduction (Vol. I. p. xxxiv.), it is difficult historically and biographically to discover what branch of the Herbert family could have suffered by the Rebellion. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, to whom Montgomery Castle then belonged, was among its defenders against the king's forces when relieved by General William Brereton on the 18th of September 1644; as told in a striking contemporary account of the siege and the Parliament's victory now before me, and of which this is the title-page (abridged): 'Letters from Sir William Brereton, Sir Thomas Middleton, Sir John Meldrum, of the great victory, by God's providence, given them in raising the siege from before Montgomery Castle, and how they totally routed and totally dispersed his Majesty's forces,' &c. (1644.) In a postscript to Sir William Brereton's letter we read, 'The L. Herbert is come away with us towards Oswestry;' and again onward: 'The Castle is releeved with victualls, Sir Thomas Middleton's souldiers, who were before as prisoners, are made free, together with the Lord Herbert of Cherberie.' Proof seems lacking that Lord Herbert of Cherbury played fast-and-loose. Royalist charges are worthless, especially in contemporary letters informed with contemporary passion. In certain of these he is called 'treacherous;' but I can find no basis for the accusation. He seems to have 'adhered' to the Parliament throughout.

[6] p. 13, 'The Duke de Luines.' This is Charles Albret, Duc of Luynes. A full narrative is given by Lord Herbert in his 'Autobiography,' as before, of his many encounters with this enemy of 'the reformed Church' of France. Howell also notices these, as thus: 'My Lord Hayes is by this time, 'tis thought, with the army; for Sir Edward Herbert is returned, having had some clashings and counterbuffs with the favourite Luynes, wherein he comported himself gallantly' (Familiar Letters, book i. § 3, letter v.).

[7] p. 13, 'He was a man of great learning,' &c. His 'Autobiography,' which since its original publication has been edited by Horace Walpole and by Sir Walter Scott, is his most enduring book, the others being rather landmarks in the history of English speculative opinion than vital to-day. Lord Herbert's scepticism was very much theoretical and philosophical, not theological. He had a cunning credulity in his disbeliefs. Two things are noticeable, viz. that (*a*) he had family prayers habitually, and on Sundays greatly relished listening to silver-tongued Henry Smith's 'sermons,' than which more pungent as more evangelical could not easily have been found; (*b*) Richard Baxter addressed a most powerful and kindly-toned epistle-dedicatory to Sir Henry Herbert, prefixed to his very remarkable little treatise entitled 'More Reasons for the Christian Religion and no Reason against it . . . . 1672' (18mo), and therein he writes trenchantly yet tenderly of *De Veritate*, thus closing his notice of it: 'I may well suppose that your approbation of the cause I plead for will make it needless to me to apologise for my boldness in meddling much with such an author, while I do it with all tenderness of his deserved honour.' Of George Herbert he also writes: 'The excellently holy as well as learned and ingenious person Mr. George Herbert, orator to the University of Cambridge, and a faithful pastor in the English Church.' See my annotated list of the Writings of Richard Baxter, pp. 31-2.

[8] p. 13, 'a menial servant,' *i.e.* household servant, one of the household. Bailey guesses at a derivation from *mania*. Richardson confounds it with the root of 'many.' Du Cange gives *meniallia*, &c., as from Fr. mangaille, and from its usage there is no doubt that as to the derivation of his meniallia he is right. Nor would it be difficult from the same mangaille to give a plausible derivation of menial as one fed by the master. But as noted by Way, *s.v.*, *Meny* familia in Prompt. Parv., the old English meuy or meyney, household, train, or retinue, is the French maynie or maisnie. These, like maison, maina, and mainage (ménage), come apparently from or of the same root as *mansio*. Richardson quotes from Wiclif, 'meynal chirche for [salutate] et domesticam ecclesiam eorum' (Romans xvi. 5). See Way, *ut supra*, and Du Cange, *s.v.v.*, Maina, Mainata, Masnata, &c.; though under Mainagium he seems to run off unnecessarily to another derivation, 'a main manus, quasi manualis possessio.'

[9] p. 13, 'Sir Robert Mansell.' He was third son of Sir Ed-

ward Mansell, Chamberlain of Chester, by Lady Jane Somerset, daughter of Henry Earl of Worcester. He was knighted by the Earl of Essex in 1596 for his services in the capture of Calais, and was afterwards Vice-admiral of the Fleet under Kings James and Charles I. He died at a great age in 1656.

[10] p. 14, brothers and sisters of George Herbert. The following notices of the members of the Herbert family are taken from Lord Herbert of Cherbury's 'Autobiography,' as before:

'Notwithstanding these expenses at home, he [grandfather] brought up his children well, married his daughters to the better sort of persons near him, and bringing up his younger sons at the University; from whence his son Matthew went to the Low Country wars; and after some time spent there came home, and lived in the county at Dolegeog upon a house and fair living which my grandfather bestowed upon him. His son also, Charles Herbert, after he had past some time in the Low Countries, likewise returned home, and was after married to an inheretrix, whose eldest son, called Sir Edward Herbert, knight, is the king's attorney-general. His son George, who was of New College in Oxford, was very learned, and of a pious life; died in a middle age of a dropsy.' .... 'The names of her [mother's] children were Edward, Richard, William, Charles, George, Henry, Thomas; her daughters were Elizabeth, Margaret, Frances; of all whom I will say a little before I begin a narration of my own life, so I may pursue my intended purpose the more entirely. My brother Richard, after he had been brought up in learning, went to the Low Countries, where he continued many years with much reputation, both in the wars and for fighting single duels, which were many; insomuch that between both he carried, as I have been told, the scars of four-and-twenty wounds upon him to his grave, and lieth buried in Bergenopzoom. My brother William, being brought up likewise in learning, went afterwards to the wars in Denmark, where, fighting a single combat, and having his sword broken, he not only defended himself with that piece which remained, but, closing with his adversary, threw him down, and so held him until company came in, and then went to the wars in the Low Countries, but lived not long after. My brother Charles was fellow of New College in Oxford, where he died young, after he had given great hopes of himself every way. My brother George was so excellent a scholar that he was made the public orator of the University in Cambridge; some of

whose English works are extant, which, though they be rare in their kind, yet are far short of expressing those perfections he had in the Greek and Latin tongue and all divine and human literature: his life was most holy and exemplary, insomuch that about Salisbury, where he lived beneficed for many [three] years, he was little less than sainted. He was not exempt from passion and choler, being infirmities to which all our race is subject, but that excepted, without reproach in his actions. Henry, after he had been brought up in learning as the other brothers were, was sent by his friends into France, where he attained the language of that country in much perfection; after which time he came to Court, and was made Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, and Master of the Revels; by which means, as also by a good marriage, he attained to great fortunes for himself and posterity to enjoy. He also hath given several proofs of his courage in duels and otherwise, being no less dexterous in the ways of the Court, as having gotten much by it. My brother Thomas was a posthumous, as being born some weeks after his father's death. He also, being brought up awhile at school, was sent as a page to Sir Edward Cecil [afterwards Viscount Wimbledon], Lord-general of his Majesty's auxiliary forces to the princes in Germany, and was particularly at the siege of Juliers, A.D. 1610, where he showed such forwardness as no man in that great army before him was more adventurous on all occasions. Being returned from thence, he went to the East Indies, under the command of Captain Joseph, who on his way thither meeting with a great Spanish ship, was unfortunately killed in fight with them; whereupon his men being disheartened, my brother Thomas encouraged them to revenge the loss, and renewed the fight in that manner (as Sir John Smyth, Governor of the East India Company, told me at several times) that they forced the Spanish ship to run aground, where the English shot her through and through so often that she run herself aground, and was left wholly unserviceable. After which time he, with the rest of the fleet, came to Suratte, and from thence went with the merchants to the Great Mogul, where, after he had staid about a twelvemonth, he returned with the same fleet back again to England. After this he went in the navy which King James sent to Algier, under the command of Sir Robert Mansel; where our men being in great want of money and victuals, and many ships scattering themselves to try whether they could obtain a prize whereby to

relieve the whole fleet, it was his hap to meet with a ship, which he took, and in it to the value of eighteen hundred pounds, which, it was thought, saved the whole fleet from perishing. He conducted also Count Mansfelt to the Low Countries in one of the king's ships, which, being unfortunately cast away not far from the shore, the count, together with his company, saved themselves in a long-boat or shalop, the benefit whereof my said brother refused to take for the present, as resolving to assist the master of the ship, who endeavoured by all means to clear the ship from the danger; but finding it impossible, he was the last man that saved himself in the long-boat; the master thereof yet refusing to come away, so that he perished together with the ship. After this he commanded one of the ships that were sent to bring the prince from Spain, where, upon his return, there being a fight between the Low Countrymen and the Dunkirkers, the prince, who thought it was not for his dignity to suffer them to fight in his presence, commanded some of his ships to part them; whereupon my said brother, with some other ships, got betwixt them on either side, and shot so long that both parties were glad to desist. After he had brought the prince safely home, he was appointed to go with one of the king's ships to the Narrow Seas. He also fought divers times with great courage and success with divers men in single fight, sometimes hurting and disarming his adversary, and sometimes driving him away. After all these proofs given of himself, he expected some great command; but finding himself, as he thought, undervalued, he retired to a private and melancholy life, being much discontented to find others preferred to him; in which sullen humour having lived many years, he died, and was buried in London in St. Martin's near Charing-cross; so that of all my brothers none survives but Henry.

'Elizabeth, my eldest sister, was married to Sir Henry Jones of Albemarles, who had by her one son and two daughters; the latter end of her time was the most sickly and miserable that hath been known in our times, while for the space of about fourteen years she languished and pined away to skin and bones, and at last died in London, and lieth buried in a church called —— near Cheapside. Margaret was married to John Vaughan, son and heir to Owen Vaughan of Llwydiart; by such match some former differences betwixt our house and that were appeased and reconciled. He had by her three daughters

and heirs, Dorothy, Magdalen, and Katherine, of which the two latter only survive. The estate of the Vaughans yet went to the heirs male, although not so clearly but that the entail which carried the said lands was questioned. Frances, my youngest sister, was married to Sir John Brown, knight, in Lincolnshire, who had by her divers children; the eldest son of whom, although young, fought divers duels, in one of which it was his fortune to kill one Lee of a great family in Lincolnshire. I could say many things more concerning all these, but it is not my purpose to particularise their lives. I have related only some passages concerning them to the best of my memory, being assured I have not failed much in my relation of them' (ed. Moxon, *n.d.*, pp. 12, 13-14).

[11] p. 14, 'Dr. Neale:' Richard Neile, second son of Paul Neile, a tallow-chandler of Westminster, where he was born in 1561-2. He became Dean of Westminster in 1605, and was afterwards Bishop successively of Rochester, Coventry and Lichfield, Lincoln, Durham, and Winchester; and finally Abp. of York in 1631-2. He died 5th Oct. 1640, and was buried in York Minster.

[12] p. 14, 'Mr. Ireland:' Richard Ireland was educated at Westminster School, whence he was elected to Oxford in 1587. He was afterwards head-master of Westminster School, 1599-1610. Very little has descended concerning him.

[13] p. 15, 'Dr. Nevil.' Camden called him 'magnificent,' and in every way he seems to have been a splendid man. His benefactions to 'Trinity College, Cambridge' are still remembered by the name 'Nevil's Court.' He took a prominent part in the preparation of the 'Lambeth Articles,' being a Calvinist. He died May 2, 1615. (Full details in Todd's 'Deans of Canterbury,' *s.n.*)

[14] p. 15, 'Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby.' There was but one Lord Danvers, viz. Henry Danvers, second son of Sir John Danvers, Kt., by Lady Elizabeth, daughter of John Nevil, Lord Latimer. He was born at Dauntsey, Wilts, 28th June 1573; created Baron Danvers in 1603, and Earl of Danby 7th February 1625-6. He died 20th January 1643-4, and was buried at Dauntsey. The death of Lord Danvers in 1643-4 makes it clear that the lines inscribed on his monument, and to which contemporaneously was added the name of 'G. Herbert,' must have been composed by him for some other and applied to Lord Danvers, he having predeceased the earl in 1632-3. In Picker-

ing's edition of Herbert (vol. i. p. 45; foot-note *in loco* of Walton's Life, 1853) the date of death is misgiven 1673.

[15] p. 17, '*Autumnal Beauty*:' see our edition of Dean DONNE's Poems, vol. i. pp. 187-190, for the Autumnal, and relative Notes and Illustrations.

[16] p. 19, 'These hymns are now lost to us.' Walton was mistaken. The hymns are questionless his 'Divine Poems' entitled 'La Corona,' 'Holy Sonnets,' and perhaps some of the others. See our DONNE, as *supra*, vol. ii. p. 275, and pp. 276-291.

[17] p. 20, 'where she now rests in her quiet grave.' It seems a pity that her 'dust' was not transferred to Montgomery Church, where so long before she had reared her own tomb, placing on it her own effigies beside her first husband's. There is no trace of her grave in Chelsea now, as there is little or none of others even more famous who were interred in the same ground. Her burial-entry is as follows in the Chelsea Register: '1627, June 8th, Magdelen, wife of Sir John Davers [*i.e.* Danvers].'

[18] p. 22, 'Minor Fellow in the year 1609.' This is inadvertently dropped in editions after 1670.

[19] p. 23, 'gentileness:' not gentleness, as now wrongly printed in various editions, but=genteelness, gentility (Fr. gentilesse)—all that became one well born and bred. See in proof the succeeding words on his error of keeping himself at too great a distance from his inferiors; also 'gentile' onward (notes [33], p. 28; [69], p. 66). Such was the ordinary mode of spelling 'genteel' at that time, as in Ben Jonson. We have the substantive 'gentle and simple,' high and humble born: *Scoticè* 'The *Gentle* Shepherd' of Allan Ramsay was the well-born shepherd. This confirms our view of Herbert's early character.

[20] p. 23, 'Sir Robert Naunton:' the well-known Master of the Court of Wards and author of the 'Fragmenta Regalia'—a new edition of which is to be published by the Chetham Society, edited by the present writer from a MS. in possession of the Duke of Westminster. He was of an ancient family in Letheringham. He became Secretary of State to James I., and died in March 1634-5. His only daughter married first, Paul Viscount Bayning, and second Philip Herbert, subsequently fifth Earl of Pembroke.

[21] p. 23, 'Sir Francis Nethersole:' son of John Nethersole,

Esq., of an ancient family of Nethersole House in Womenswould, county Kent, where he resided during the most of his life; but during the Civil Wars he retired to Polesworth in Warwickshire, where he died and was buried in 1659.

[22] p. 24, 'Basilicon Doron:' 'Basilicon Doron, devided into three bookes. Edinburgh, printed by Robert Waldegrave, printer to the Kinge's Majestie, 1599' (4to). After-editions 1603 onward. From this book came those seeds that, sown in Charles I.'s mind and heart, yielded the baleful harvest of the Civil War and accompanying tragedies. Poor in thought and style, 'Basilicon Doron' is not without touches of shrewdness and the usual undisciplined learning (or miscellaneous reading).

[23] p. 24, 'Quid Vaticanam,' &c. This couplet will be found in its place in the letters, and 'glorified' in Dean Duport's lines on Herbert (Vol. II. pp. cix.-x.).

[24] p. 25, Andrew Melville. Second only in intellect and genius to John Knox among the Scottish reformers, Melville was his equal in intrepidity and his superior in culture. His life by Dr. McCrie has taken its place among the masterpieces of modern biography. In the light of it, Walton's miserable and ungracious detraction—born of utter ignorance—and Herbert's poor epigrams fade away. He was born 1545, died 1622; and his death was passionately lamented by the foremost scholars and divines of Protestant Europe.

[25] p. 25, Lady Arabella. She was daughter of Charles Stuart, Earl of Lennox, the younger brother of Henry Earl of Darnley, father of James I. She was born at Hampstead in 1577, and received an education in advance of the age. She incurred the displeasure of James by marrying William Seymour, grandson of the Earl of Hertford, for which she was sent to the Tower. She subsequently made her escape thence, but was retaken, brought back, and died there in 1615. The 'Ara' of her name gave Melville opportunity to pun on the occasion of her being sent to the Tower, viz. her going to the altar (ara), *i.e.* her marriage, and his own imprisonment for his sarcastic verses on the 'ara' of the king's private chapel. There are full details on the altar-matter in Melville's 'Autobiography' and Calderwood's 'History of the Kirk of Scotland,' *s.n.* No one well informed will doubt that Andrew Melville was in the right and the king egregiously in the wrong. Cf. also D'Israeli's 'Curiosities of Literature,' *s.v.*

[26] p. 26, 'Dr. Duport . . . . hath lately collected,' &c. See

the title-page in Vol. II. p. 88. 'Lately' was used loosely, the date being 1662.

[27] p. 26, in the margin of 1670 edition is 'Albumazar, Ignoramus.' 'Albumazar' was the production of John Tomkis (sometimes spelled Tomkins), and on its title-page is described as 'a comedy presented before the King's Maiestie at Cambridge, the ninth of March 1614, by the gentlemen of Trinitie Colledge' (1614, 4to). A living owner of a copy of this somewhat noticeable comedy having large MS. corrections and additions, has a wild theory that these are Shakespeare's. 'Ignoramus' was also a comedy (in Latin), by James (*not* George, as in Hazlitt, *s.n.*) Ruggle (or Ruggles), M.A. It seems not to have been printed until 1630: often reprinted since. The king (James I.) 'commanded' its performance twice, and its hits at practitioners of the law are often happy. It was translated into English by Codrington, and published in 1662. Hawkins also reprinted it in 1787, with notes.

[28] p. 27, Lord Bacon's psalms. See our collective edition of the Poems of Bacon in Fuller Worthies' Miscellanies (vol. i. pp. 1-56). The dedication of the psalms is as follows: 'To his very good frend, Mr. George Herbert. The paines that it pleased you to take about some of my Writings I cannot forget; which did put me in minde to dedicate to you this poore Exercise of my sicknesse. Besides, it being my manner for Dedications to choose those that I hold most fit for the Argument, I thought that in respect of Diuinitie and Poesie met (whereof the one is the Matter, the other the Style, of this little Writing) I could not make better choice. So with signification of my Loue and Acknowledgement, I euer rest your affectionate frend, Fr. St. Alban.' There is obscurity on the work of translation done by Herbert for Bacon. My friend Mr. Spedding has failed to throw light on their relations. Some day a chance-discovered letter may elucidate the point. Walton probably exaggerated Herbert's services to Bacon; indeed, the chronology of the works forbids the whole extent of the claim made. In the Bacon MSS. and correspondence search has been made in vain for communications between the two friends, or so much as mention by either of the other, save as above and in Herbert's various Latin poems of and to Bacon in Vol. II. pp. 159-166.

[29] p. 27, letter to Bishop Andrewes in Greek. I must here repeat my earnest hope that this important letter may

yet be brought from its hiding-place. In every way its recovery is greatly to be desired. See Vol. I. pp. xxiii.-iv.

[30] p. 28, seals from Dr. Donne. In our 4to form of the present volume we reproduce these seals. Donne's letters among the Loseley MSS. are sealed with the crest of his family, a sheaf of snakes. On taking orders he is believed to have exchanged this device for one of his own imagining—Christ fixed to an anchor instead of a cross. As in the text, he used to send copies as gifts among his friends. Walton, it will be seen, states that the gift-seals were made 'not long before his death;' Mr. Kempe (Loseley MSS.) that it was on taking orders. Both seem correct. The new device was adopted on taking orders; the seals bequeathed, fashioned according to it, were at the end. In the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1807, a representation of the seal was given, and again in December 1835.

[31] p. 28, lines on the seals. These are placed among Herbert's Poems now. See Vol. II. p. 169. See Variations in Appendix B to Life by Walton for Life of Donne.

[32] p. 28, 'sinecure .... formerly given to her favourite, Sir Philip Sidney.' *For the first time*, this 'sinecure' has been traced. See our Memorial-Introduction in Vol. I. pp. xlix.-lii.

[33] p. 28, 'gentile.' See note [19].

[34] p. 29, Herbert Thorndike: well known later as an ecclesiastical writer. He was third son of Francis Thorndike of Scamblesby, county Lincoln, and born 'about 1598;' Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; Prebendary of Lincoln, 1636; but resigned in 1640, and became Vicar of Claybrooke, county Leicester. He was Prebendary of Westminster in 1662. He died at Chiswick, Middlesex, 11th July 1672, and was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey.

[35] p. 29, '*Affliction:*' see Poems, Vol. I. pp. 51-54.

[36] p. 30. On the close of this poem, see our note, Vol. I. p. 281.

[37] p. 31, Lodowick Duke of Richmond. Ludovic Stuart, eldest son of Esme Lord D'Aubigny, first Earl and Duke of Lennox: born 29th September 1574; succeeded his father in 1583 as second Duke of Lennox, and was created Duke of Richmond in 1623. He died 16th February 1623-4, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. The following booklet was published: 'Cleland's Monument of Mortalitie, upon the Death and Funeral of Lodovick Duke of Richmond and Lennox, Lord High Admirall and Great Chamberlaine of Scotland,' 1624 (4to).

[38] p. 31, James Marquis of Hamilton. James, second Marquess of Hamilton, succeeded his father (John) in 1604, and died 2d March 1625. His eldest son, also James, succeeded as third marquess, and was beheaded for his loyalty in Old Palace-yard, 7th March 1649. The former was doubtless Herbert's friend.

[39] p. 31, King James. Born 1566: died March 27, 1625.

[40] p. 31, '*perswaded* him'=used persuasions.

[41] p. 32, 'Prebend.' Later it is printed 'prebendary,' here and elsewhere.

[42] p. 32, John Lord Bishop of that see: viz. John Williams. See our Memorial-Introduction, Vol. I. p. lv.

[43] p. 33, 'Reading-pew and pulpit:' see (in 4to form) Vol. I. p. xxv., for an anastatic etching of the interior of Leighton Bromswold Church, showing the 'reading-pew and pulpit,' and pews, &c.

[44] p. 34, 'James Duke of Lennox.' James Stuart, eldest son of Esme, third duke of Lennox (younger brother of Ludovic, noticed *supra*), succeeded his father as fourth duke 30th July 1624, he having lived only a few months after coming to the title. He was born in Blackfriars, London, 6th April 1612; created Duke of Richmond 8th August 1641. He died 30th March 1655, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

[45] p. 34, 'Sir Henry Herbert:' see note [10].

[46] p. 34, 'Mr. Nicholas Farrer:' see Professor Mayor's most invaluable little work entitled 'Nicholas Ferrar: Two Lives by his Brother John and by Doctor Jebb' (Cambridge, 1855). The contemporary spelling and his own autograph was 'Farrer,' as in Walton. It is much to be lamented that Professor Mayor's 'Nicholas Ferrar' has been allowed to get 'out of print.'

[47] p. 34, 'Mr. John Woodnot.' *Sic* throughout 1670 edition: later it is 'Arthur,' and no doubt 'Arthur,' and not 'John,' was Herbert's friend. The spelling of both names seems to be more accurately 'Woodnoth' or 'Woodenoth.' This inestimable man, Arthur Woodnoth, was a kinsman of Ferrar, and a 'goldsmith' in the City. He was desirous of entering the Church as a clergyman, but was dissuaded by Ferrar and by Herbert, 'yet would needs make a trial; but after some trial, finding himself well advised, returned to his trade' (Baker in Mayor's 'Ferrar,' as *supra*, p. 83). See also Mayor's 'Ferrar,' pp. 85, 308-15, 323, 326, 338, 339; also Ormerod's 'Cheshire,' iii. 263.

[48] p. 37, 'Dr. Robert Creighton.' Born at Dunkeld in 1593,

educated at Westminster School, and elected thence to Trinity College, Cambridge, where subsequently he became Greek professor and public orator. In 1631 he became Prebendary of Lincoln, and in 1632 Canon of Wells, being Dean of Wells at the Restoration. In 1670 he was made Bishop of Bath and Wells. He died 21st March 1672. See the next Latin letter to him from Herbert, *in loco*.

[49] p. 38, 'This haste' of marriage. See our Memorial-Introduction, Vol. I. pp. lvii.-lix., for correction of a probable error here as to the alleged 'haste.' But admitting the little preliminary time spent, the best explanation of the marriage is to be found in what Herbert himself says in the 'Country Parson,' c. ix., and in his knowledge of those qualities in his intended wife through the accounts which he had received. Besides, in Herbert's day marriage was very much a matter of family diplomacy.

[50] p. 39, 'Curle.' Walter Curle, born at Hatfield, Herts—his father steward to the Cecil family—Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge: successively Vicar of Plumstead, Kent; Rector of Bemerton and Mildenhall, Suffolk; Prebendary of Salisbury, Dean of Lichfield, Bishop of Rochester (1628), of Bath and Wells (1629), and finally of Winchester (1632). Died in 1 647.

[51] p. 39, William, third Earl of Pembroke. He succeeded his father (Henry) in 1600-1, and died 10th April 1630, when he was succeeded by his brother Philip as fourth earl. He was Lord Chamberlain of the Household to King Charles I., and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. He died in 1655, and was succeeded by his son Philip as fifth earl. Probably the first two are meant here.

[52] p. 39, 'requested the king'=Charles I.

[53] p. 41, Davenant: again, as Hammond, *clarum et venerabile nomen:* born 1576, died 1641. As Allport in his life of the good Bishop—prefixed to his edition of his 'Colossians' (2 vols. 8vo, 1831, p. xxxiv.)—laments that a famous 'fast sermon,' preached by him before the House of Lords, has perished irrecoverably, it may be here recorded that I have a copy of it in my library.

[54] p. 43, '*The Odour :*' see Vol. I. pp. 201-2.

[55] p. 43, '*The Pearl :*' see Vol. I. pp. 99-101.

[56] p. 45, 'Minal'=Mildenhall, one and a half miles E.N.E. from Marlborough. Locally it is still called Minal.

[57] p. 47, '*To my Successor :*' see Vol. II. p. 59.

[58] p. 48, 'Dr. Humphrey Hinchman.' Humphrey Hench-

man, born at Barton Segrave, county Northampton, in 1592. He became Bishop of Salisbury in 1660, and was translated to the see of London in 1663. He died 7th October 1675, and was buried at Fulham.

[59] p. 49, 'Convince'=overcome, in sense of confute [his practice].

[60] p. 55, 'as Reverend Hooker says:' cf. 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' book v. lxix. 4, lxx., and throughout on festivals.

[61] p. 58, 'Joshua:' see Joshua xxiv. 15, originally by inadvertence 'David.'

[62] p. 58, 'Saint's bell.' The small bell used to call to prayer, &c. The sacring or, as Cotgrave also calls it, 'antham bell' (Fr. martinet). Nares curiously says by corruption, *sance* bell; whereas 'saint's' is clearly a corruption from sance for sancte.

[63] p. 61, 'Dr. Lake:' born 1550, died Bishop of Chichester May 4, 1626. His folio of 'Sermons,' &c. is a treasure.

[64] p. 62, 'And now let's tune our instruments.' While the preceding sentences have been printed in italics, this has not hitherto, which seems to give it to Walton instead of Herbert, to whom it really belongs.

[65] p. 63, 'being:' a not unfrequent use=it being so, that &c.

[66] p. 64, 'deodate:' cf. our edition of Marvell (vol. i. pp. 57-8)=deodand, *i.e.* forfeit or given to God (*deo dandus*).

[67] p. 65, 'Bostock:' it is to be regretted that nothing further has reached us of this excellent man and friend of Herbert. It will be noticed that his name occurs memorably in Herbert's will: see Vol. I. pp. lxiii.-v. 'Fulston' (p. lxiii.)=Fugglestone, the conjoint cure. Oddly changeable in its orthography, earlier and recent. See an anastatic etching of it (in 4to form), Vol. I. p. lv.

[68] p. 66, 'gentile:' see note [19].

[69] p. 66, 'fit age:' later editions, 'an early age.'

[70] p. 67, 'buy:' later editions, 'purchase.'

[71] p. 69, 'all read:' later editions, 'always.'

[72] p. 71, 'letter to Mr. Farrer.' See it in the present volume, with the notes on Valdesso.

[73] p. 72, Valdesso. See introductory note to Herbert's letter, and notes on the 'Considerations' onward.

[74] p. 73, 'daily prayers for me.' One of Ferrar's prayers for Herbert has been preserved. I give it here from Mayor's 'Ferrar,' as before. 'I shall here set down a paper which I find amongst some other passages, the which will in part shew

N. F.'s deer affection to this most deserving Mr. George Herbert, viz. On Friday the —, Mr. Mapletoft brought us word that Mr. Herbert, as he heard, was past hope of recovery; which was very grievous news, and so much the more as altogether unexpected, we having understood no danger of his sickness till then. It seemed, as we afterwards understood, [he died] about the hour wherein we received this news, of which we, being wholly ignorant, made presently our public supplications for his health in the words and manner following:

'O most mighty God and merciful Father, we most humbly beseech Thee, if it be Thy good pleasure, to continue to us that singular benefit which Thou hast given us in the friendship of Thy servant, our deer brother, who now lieth on the bed of sickness. Let him abide with us yet awhile for the furtherance of our faith. We have indeed deserved by our ingratitude not only the loss of him, but whatever other opportunities Thou hast given us for the attainment of our salvation. We do not deserve to be heard in our supplications; but Thy mercies are above all Thy works. In consideration whereof we prostrate ourselves in all humble earnestness, beseeching Thee, if so it may seem good to Thy Divine Majesty, that Thou wilt hear us in this, Who hast heard us in all the rest, and that Thou wilt bring him back again from the gates of death; that Thou wilt yet awhile spare him, that he may live to Thy honour and our comfort. Lord, Thou hast willed that our delights should be in the saints on earth and in such as excel in virtue; how, then, should we not be afflicted and mourn when Thou takest them away from us? Thou hast made him a great help and furtherance of the best things amongst us; how, then, can we but esteem the loss of him a chastisement from Thy displeasure? O Lord, we beseech Thee that it may not be so: we beseech Thee, if it be Thy good pleasure, restore unto us our dear brother, by restoring to him his health; so will we praise and magnify Thy name and mercy with a song of thanksgiving. Hear us, O Lord, for Thy dear Son's sake, Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen' (pp. 87-89).

[75] p. 75, 'his three neeces (then a part of his family).' See note [80] on the date of Herbert's death in relation to the will of one of these nieces who predeceased him.

[76] p. 78, lines quoted. These are adapted from a Dirge, composed by James Shirley in association with his 'Contention of Ajax and Ulysses for the armour of Achilles' (1659).

[77] p. 79. Sir Robert Cook of Highnam. Sir Anthony Cooke of Gidea Hall, county Essex, knight, the well-known preceptor of King Edward VI.—besides his four equally famous daughters, who married respectively Sir William Cecil (Lord Treasurer Burghley), Sir Nicholas Bacon (Keeper of the Great Seal), Lord John Russell, and Sir Henry Killigrew—had two sons, Richard and William. The second son, William, married Frances, daughter of John Lord Grey (brother of Henry Duke of Suffolk), and had a son, Sir William Cooke, who married Joyce, daughter of Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote, county Warwick, knight, who was sole heir to her mother, viz. Dorothy, only daughter and heir of Rowland Arnold of Highnam, county Gloucester, Esq. She carried the estate of Highnam to her husband, who died 2d March 1618-9, and was succeeded by his only surviving son and heir, viz. our present Sir Robert Cooke of Highnam, who was knighted at Ampthill, Beds. 21st July 1621. He married first, Dorothy, daughter of Sir Miles Fleetwood of Aldwincle, county Northampton, knight; and secondly, as in the text, Jane, widow of George Herbert. He died in June 1646, aged 48; hence was born about 1598. By his second wife, Jane, he had three sons, Charles, Robert, and Robert, who all died young, and one daughter, Jane, who married first, Sir Dawes Wymond of Putney, county Surrey, knight; and secondly, Thomas Prowen, Esq., of Brickwall, county Sussex.

[78] p. 80, 'lies buried at Highnam.' 'This may seem rather puzzling to those who know that there was no church at Highnam until the year 1851, when one was erected there by the munificence of a gentleman who is still living. On the authority of this gentleman, Mr. Gambier Parry, who became possessed of the Highnam estate about twenty-one years ago, I am able to throw some light on this matter, which I doubt not will be interesting to the lovers of George Herbert. In front of the present mansion of Highnam Court there once stood a small chapel, the site of which is now marked only by a slight undulation of ground on the lawn. When the garden was laid out, now about fourteen years ago, graves were found in the line of what was to have been a sunken terrace; so the work was at once stopped there, and the ground made good. Over the part where foundations were discovered Mr. Parry planted a cedar, and cut off its leading shoots, so that it should spread wide over ground which, if not actually consecrated, was yet hallowed by the burials of former worshippers on that spot. Here then, in

all probability, sleeps the widow of George Herbert. For I should add that when, owing to the extent of the parish of Churcham, which is the mother parish of Highnam, and the scattered dwellings of the inhabitants, Highnam was made a parish in itself, and a church built within its bounds, it was thought better to leave the crumbling remains where they had long reposed, rather than to disturb them by removal to the newly-consecrated churchyard. It is remarkable that the parish register of Churcham contains no entry of the burial of Lady Cooke, nor is there any memorial of her either there or in the neighbouring church of Lassingdean' (Letter of B. H. Beedham, Esq., Ashfield House, Kimbolton, to 'Salisbury and Winchester Journal,' November 1st, 1859).

[79] p. 80, 'in his own church.' As doubts have been expressed whether Herbert was interred 'in his own church' at Bemerton —Fugglestone, the mother church, being suggested—it may be well to state that Aubrey, from personal knowledge, informs us he was buried in Bemerton, not Fugglestone. His statement is unmistakable, and must be preserved here: 'George Herbert was kinsman (remote) and chaplaine to Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, and Lord Chamberlayn. His lordship gave him a benefice at Bemmerton (in the records of the Tower it is writ Bymerton), between Wilton and Salisbury, a pittiful little chappell of ease to Foughelston. The old house was very ruinous. Here he built a very handsome house, and made a good garden and walkes for the minister, of brick. He lyes in the chancell, under no large nor yet very good marble gravestone, without any inscription. . . . He was buryed, according to his owne desire, with the singing service for the buriall of the dead by the singing men of Sarum. Dr. Sambroke (attorney) then assisted as a chorister boy; my uncle, Th. Danvers, was at the funerall' (Letters, ii. 80-1). Archdeacon Coxe (who was one of Herbert's successors) observes: 'George Herbert is generally called Rector of Bemerton, because the glebe-house in which he resided is in that parish; but he should more properly be called Rector of Fugglestone, or Foulston St. Peter's cum Bemerton annexed, as the rectory comprises the parishes of Fugglestone, Quidhampton, and Bemerton.' We suspect 'Bemerton' shortly, will not be displaced by the, if technically accurate, somewhat uncouth-sounding fuller name, just as Herbert's friend Bacon is Lord Bacon, not Verulam or St. Alban, though there never was a Lord Bacon.

We greatly value our view of Bemerton Church and the vignettte of church and parsonage from Mayor (Vol. I. 4to), before 'Improvement's' fingers had swept their characteristics away. The garden and meadow-ground remain, and the river (Naddar), shallow but broad and musically rippling; while a tradition, which one gladly accepts, points out an old, old medlar as planted by Herbert. See our Preface to the present volume for an examination of the hitherto alleged date of Herbert's death. G.

II.

A PRIEST TO THE TEMPLE,

AND PRAYERS;

WITH APPENDICES:

(*a*) A 'VIEW OF THE LIFE AND VERTUES OF THE AUTHOUR, AND EXCELLENCIES OF THIS BOOK,' BY ARCHDEACON OLEY; (*b*) A 'PREFACE TO THE CHRISTIAN READER' (IBID.); (*c*) ADVERTISEMENT (IBID.); NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

(1652-1675.)

NOTE.

On page 121 is the title-page of the original edition of 'A Priest to the Temple' (1652), of which our text is a careful reproduction. On verso of title-page is Herbert's own little epistle 'To the Reader.' Relative appendices and Notes and Illustrations at the close of this treatise give additions from after-editions, &c.

I gladly find room here for the following critical estimate of 'A Priest to the Temple,' by the Rev. Isaac Gregory Smith, M.A., of Great Malvern, in the 'Christian Remembrancer,' as before (vol. xliv. pp. 121 et seqq.):

'The "Country Parson" is, of course, the book by which Herbert is best known. Though intended primarily for the clergy, it is a book to delight readers of any profession, by the charming series of portraits which it unfolds of the good pastor in almost every conceivable attitude and grouping. Oley, in his day, feared only that an ideal so faultless "would make the laity discontented." There can be no danger of this, now that so many of the clergy strive to raise themselves to Herbert's high standard. The literary merits, too, of the book are great. There is no fine writing in it; there are no grand passages. But the language throughout is choice, scholarlike, and equable, singularly simple, exact, and terse; above all, it is in perfect keeping with the ideas to be conveyed. If, indeed, the great thing in style is, as Aristotle teaches, to be "clear and pleasing," if the language ought to fit as closely yet easily to its ideas as a well-made dress to the limbs, then Herbert's prose must be ranked high. It is like a well-dressed person. The reader is unconscious where its charm lies; but if he change a word, or the place of a word, or add or take away anything, he discovers how exquisite, yet to all appearance unstudied, is the composition. In this *curiosa felicitas* Herbert's style resembles that of his friend Lord Bacon. It is entirely free from the euphuism then in fashion at court, and its graceful ease is the more remarkable, considering the ponderous manner of the learned men of the day. Hallam, in

his "History of Literature," passes by the "Country Parson" too summarily. While allowing to it the faint praise of being "a pleasing little book," he objects that "its precepts are sometimes so overstrained, according to our notions, as to give an appearance of affectation." So much the worse, then, for us and "our notions." But a book on the life and habits of a country parson was not much in Hallam's way; nor was he likely, from the associations which environed him, to free himself from an unintentional prejudice against the theological school, in which, according to his "notions," Herbert would be classed. To the charge of being "overstrained," it is enough to answer that the precepts in question were laid down by the author as "rules and regulations" for his own guidance. "He set the form and character of a true pastor," he says, "as high as he could for himself to aim at;" and he practised what he taught. Many useful manuals for the clergy have been written lately, . . . but the "Country Parson" can never be superseded. Short as it is and unassuming, it is inexhaustible in its suggestiveness. Walton says, "He that can spare 12*d.* and yet wants a book so full of plain, prudent, and useful rules, is scarcely excusable." It will never be obsolete,' &c. G.

A PRIEST

To the

TEMPLE,

OR

The Countrey PARSON

HIS

CHARACTER,

AND

Rule of Holy Life.

The Authour,
Mr. G. H.

* * * * *
* * *
*

LONDON,
Printed by *T. Maxey* for *T. Garthwait*, at the
little North door of St. *Paul's*. 1652.
[12mo.]

THE AUTHOUR TO THE READER.

BEING desirous, thorow the mercy of God, to please Him, for Whom I am and live, and Who giveth mee my desires and performances; and considering with myself that the way to please Him is to feed my flocke diligently and faithfully, since our Saviour hath made that the argument of a pastour's love, I have resolved to set down the form and character of a true pastour, that I may have a mark to aim at; which also I will set as high as I can, since hee shoots higher that threatens the moon then hee that aims at a tree.[1] Not that I think if a man do not all which is here expressed hee presently sinns, and displeases God, but that it is a good strife to go as farre as we can in pleasing of Him, Who hath done so much for us. The Lord prosper the intention to myselfe, and others who may not despise my poor labours, but add to those points which I have observed, untill the book grow to a compleat pastorall.

GEO. HERBERT.

1632.

A PRIEST TO THE TEMPLE.

Chap. I.

Of a Pastor.

A pastor is the deputy of Christ for the reducing of man to the obedience of God. This definition is evident, and containes the direct steps of pastorall duty and auctority. For, first, man fell from God by disobedience. Secondly, Christ is the glorious instrument of God for the revoking[2] of man. Thirdly, Christ being not to continue on earth, but after Hee had fulfilled the work of reconciliation to be received up into heaven, He constituted deputies in His place; and these are priests. And therefore St. Paul, in the beginning of his Epistles, professeth this; and in the first to the Colossians plainly avoucheth that he 'fils up that which is behinde of the afflictions of Christ in his flesh, for His Bodie's sake, which is the Church.' Wherein is contained the complete definition of a minister. Out of this chartre of the priesthood may be plainly gathered both the dignity[3] thereof and the duty: the dignity, in that a priest may do that which Christ did, and by

His auctority and as His vicegerent; the duty, in that a priest is to do that which Christ did, and after His manner, both for doctrine and life.

Chap. II.

Their Diversities.

Of pastors (intending mine own nation only, and also therein setting aside the reverend prelates of the Church, to whom this discourse ariseth not), some live in the universities, some in noble houses, some in parishes, residing on their cures. Of those that live in the universities, some live there in office, whose rule is that of the Apostle (Romans xii. 6): 'Having gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophecy, according to the proportion of faith; or ministry, let us wait on our ministring; or he that teacheth, on teaching,' &c.; 'he that ruleth, let him do it with diligence,' &c. Some in a preparatory way, whose aim and labour must be not only to get knowledge, but to subdue and mortifie all lusts and affections; and not to think that when they have read the Fathers or Schoolmen, a minister is made and the thing done. The greatest and hardest preparation is within; for 'Unto the ungodly saith God, Why dost thou preach My laws, and takest My covenant in thy mouth?' (Psalm l. 16.) Those that live in noble houses are called chaplains,

whose duty and obligation being the same to the houses they live in as a parson's to his parish, in describing the one (which is indeed the bent of my discourse) the other will be manifest. Let not chaplains think themselves so free, as many of them do, and because they have different names, think their office different. Doubtlesse they are parsons of the families they live in, and are entertained to that end, either by an open or implicit covenant. Before they are in orders, they may be received for companions or discoursers; but after a man is once minister, he cannot agree to come into any house, where he shall not exercise what he is, unlesse he forsake his plough and look back [St. Luke ix. 62]. Wherefore they are not to be over-submissive and base, but to keep up with the lord and lady of the house, and to preserve a boldness with them and all, even so far as reproof to their very face, when occasion cals, but seasonably and discreetly. They who do not thus, while they remember their earthly lord, do much forget their heavenly; they wrong the priesthood, neglect their duty, and shall be so farre from that which they seek with their over-submissiveness and cringings, that they shall ever be despised.[4] They who for the hope of promotion neglect any necessary admonition or reproof, sell (with Judas) their Lord and Master.

Chap. III.

The Parson's Life.

The countrey parson is exceeding exact in his life, being holy, just, prudent, temperate, bold, grave, in all his wayes. And because the two highest points of life wherein a Christian is most seen are patience and mortification—patience in regard of afflictions; mortification in regard of lusts and affections,and the stupifying and deading of all the clamarous powers of the soul —therefore he hath throughly studied these, that he may be an absolute master and commander of himself for all the purposes which God hath ordained him. Yet in these points he labours most in those things which are most apt to scandalize his parish. And first, because countrey people live hardly, and therefore as feeling their own sweat, and consequently knowing the price of mony, are offended much with any who by hard usage increase their travell,[5] the countrey parson is very circumspect in avoiding all covetousnesse, neither being greedy to get, nor niggardly to keep, nor troubled to lose any worldly wealth; but in all his words and actions slighting and disesteeming it, even to a wondring that the world should so much value wealth, which in the day of wrath hath not one dramme of comfort for us. Secondly, because luxury is a very visible sin, the parson is very careful to avoid all the kinds thereof; but especially that of drinking,

because it is the most popular vice; into which, if he come, he prostitutes himself both to shame and sin, and, by having 'fellowship with the unfruitfull works of darknesse' [Ephesians v. 11], he disableth himself of authority to reprove them; for sins make all equall whom they finde together, and then they are worst who ought to be best. Neither is it for the servant of Christ to haunt inns or tavernes or alehouses, to the dishonour of his person and office. The parson doth not so, but orders his life in such a fashion, that when death takes him, as the Jewes and Judas did Christ, he may say as He did, 'I sate daily with you teaching in the Temple'[6] [St. Matthew xxvi. 55]. Thirdly, because countrey people (as indeed all honest men) do much esteem their word, it being the life of buying and selling and dealing in the world: therefore the parson is very strict in keeping his word, though it be to his own hinderance, as knowing that if he be not so he wil quickly be discovered and disregarded: neither will they beleeve him in the pulpit whom they cannot trust in his conversation. As for oaths and apparell, the disorders thereof are also very manifest. The parson's yea is *yea*, and nay *nay*: and his apparell plaine, but reverend and clean, without spots or dust or smell: the purity of his mind breaking out and dilating itselfe even to his body, cloaths, and habitation.[7]

Chap. IV.

The Parson's Knowledg.

The countrey parson is full of all knowledg. They say it is an ill mason that refuseth any stone; and there is no knowledg but, in a skilfull hand, serves either positively as it is, or else to illustrate some other knowledge. He condescends even to the knowledge of tillage and pastorage, and makes great use of them in teaching, because people, by what they understand, are best led to what they understand not. But the chief and top of his knowledge consists in the book of books, the storehouse and magazene of life and comfort, the Holy Scriptures. There he sucks and lives. In the Scriptures hee finds four things: precepts for life, doctrines for knowledge, examples for illustration, and promises for comfort. These he hath digested severally. But for the understanding of these, the means he useth are first, a holy life, remembring what his Master saith, that 'if any do God's will, he shall know of the doctrine' (John vii. [17]); and assuring himself that wicked men, however learned, do not know the Scriptures, because they feel them not, and because they are not understood but with the same Spirit that writ them. The second means is prayer, which if it be necessary even in temporall things, how much more in things of another world, where the well is deep, and we have nothing of ourselves to draw with? Wherefore he

ever begins the reading of the Scripture with some short inward ejaculation, as, 'Lord, open mine eyes, that I may see the wondrous things of Thy law,' &c. [Ps. cxix. 18]. The third means is a diligent collation of Scripture with Scripture. For all truth being consonant to itself, and all being penn'd by one and the self-same Spirit, it cannot be but that an industrious and judicious comparing of place with place must be a singular help for the right understanding of the Scriptures. To this may be added the consideration of any text with the coherence thereof, touching what goes before and what follows after, as also the scope of the Holy Ghost. When the Apostles would have called down fire from heaven, they were reproved, as ignorant of what spirit they were. For the law required one thing, and the gospel another; yet as diverse, not as repugnant; therefore the spirit of both is to be considered and weighed. The fourth means are Commenters and Fathers who have handled the places controverted, which the parson by no means refuseth. As he doth not so study others as to neglect the grace of God in himself, and what the Holy Spirit teacheth him, so doth he assure himself that God in all ages hath had His servants, to whom He hath revealed His truth as well as to him; and that as one countrey doth not bear all things, that there may be a commerce, so neither hath God opened, or will open, all to one, that there may be a traffick in knowledg between the servants of God, for the planting

both of love and humility. Wherefore he hath one comment at least upon every book of Scripture; and ploughing with this and his own meditations, he enters into the secrets of God treasured in the Holy Scripture.

Chap. V.

The Parson's accessary Knowledges.

The countrey parson hath read the Fathers also, and the Schoolmen, and the later writers, or a good proportion of all, out of all which he hath compiled a book and body of divinity, which is the storehouse of his sermons, and which he preacheth all his life, but diversly clothed, illustrated, and inlarged. For though the world is full of such composures,[8] yet every man's own is fittest, readiest, and most savory to him. Besides, this being to be done in his younger and preparatory times, it is an honest joy ever after to looke upon his well-spent hours. This body he made by way of expounding the Church Catechisme, to which all divinity may easily be reduced; for it being indifferent in itselfe to choose any method that is best to be chosen, of which there is likelyest to be most use. Now catechising being a work of singular and admirable benefit to the Church of God, and a thing required under canonicall obedience, the expounding of our Catechisme must needs be the most usefull forme. Yet hath the parson, besides this laborious work, a slighter forme of

catechising, fitter for country people; according as his audience is, so he useth one or other, or sometimes both, if his audience be intermixed. He greatly esteemes also of cases of conscience,[9] wherein he is much versed. And, indeed, herein is the greatest ability of a parson, to lead his people exactly in the wayes of truth, so that they neither decline to the right hand nor to the left. Neither let any think this a slight thing. For every one hath not digested when it is a sin to take something for mony lent, or when not; when it is a fault to discover another's fault, or when not; when the affections of the soul in desiring and procuring increase of means or honour be a sin of covetousnes or ambition, and when not; when the appetites of the body in eating, drinking, sleep, and the pleasure that comes with sleep, be sins of gluttony, drunkenness, sloath, lust, and when not; and so in many circumstances of actions. Now if a shepherd know not which grass will bane, or which not, how is he fit to be a shepherd? Wherefore the parson hath throughly canvassed al the particulars of humane actions, at least all those which he observeth are most incident to his parish.

Chap. VI.

The Parson praying.

The countrey parson, when he is to read divine services, composeth himselfe to all possible reverence,

lifting up his heart and hands and eyes, and using all other gestures which may expresse a hearty and unfeyned devotion. This he doth, first, as being truly touched and amazed with the majesty of God, before Whom he then presents himself; yet not as himself alone, but as presenting with himself the whole congregation, whose sins he then beares and brings with his own to the heavenly altar to be bathed and washed in the sacred laver of Christ's blood. Secondly, as this is the true reason of his inward feare, so he is content to expresse this outwardly to the utmost of his power; that, being first affected himself, hee may affect also his people, knowing that no sermon moves them so much to a reverence, which they forget againe, when they come to pray, as a devout behaviour in the very act of praying. Accordingly his voyce is humble, his words treatable[10] and slow, yet not so slow neither as to let the fervency of the supplicant hang and dy between speaking; but with a grave livelinesse, between fear and zeal, pausing yet pressing, he performes his duty. Besides his example, he having often instructed his people how to carry themselves in divine service, exacts of them all possible reverence, by no means enduring either talking, or sleeping, or gazing, or leaning, or halfe-kneeling, or any undutifull behaviour in them; but causing them, when they sit, or stand, or kneel, to do all in a strait[11] and steady posture, as attending to what is done in the church, and every one, man and child,

answering aloud both Amen, and all other answers which are on the clerk's and people's part to answer; which answers also are to be done not in a hudling or slubbering[12] fashion, gaping, or scratching the head, or spitting even, in the midst of their answer, but gently and pausably,[13] thinking what they say; so that while they answer, 'As it was in the beginning,' &c., they meditate as they speak, that God hath ever had His people, that have glorified Him as wel as now, and that He shall have so for ever: and the like in other answers. This is that which the Apostle cals a reasonable service (Romans xii. [1]), when we speak not as parrats, without reason, or offer up such sacrifices as they did of old, which was of beasts devoyd of reason; but when we use our reason and apply our powers to the service of Him that gives them. If there be any of the gentry or nobility of the parish who somtimes make it a piece of state not to come at the beginning of service with their poor neighbours, but at mid-prayers, both to their own loss and of theirs also who gaze upon them when they come in, and neglect the present service of God, he by no means suffers it, but after divers gentle admonitions, if they persevere, he causes them to be presented;[14] or if the poor churchwardens be affrighted with their greatness, notwithstanding his instruction that they ought not to be so, but even to let the world sinke, so they do their duty, he presents them himself, only protesting to them that not any

ill-will draws him to it, but the debt and obligation of his calling, being to obey God rather then men.

Chap. VII.

The Parson preaching.

The countrey parson preacheth constantly; the pulpit is his joy and his throne: if he at any time intermit, it is either for want of health, or against some great festivall, that he may the better celebrate it, or for the variety of the hearers, that he may be heard at his returne more attentively. When he intermits, he is ever very well supplyed by some able man, who treads in his steps, and will not throw down what he hath built; whom also he intreats to press some point that he himself hath often urged with no great success, that so, 'in the mouth of two or three witnesses' [St. Matthew xvii. 16] the truth may be more established. When he preacheth, he procures attention by all possible art; both by earnestnesse of speech—it being naturall to men to think, that where is much earnestness, there is somewhat worth hearing—and by a diligent and busy cast of his eye on his auditors, with letting them know that he observes who marks, and who not; and with particularizing of his speech now to the younger sort, then to the elder, now to the poor, and now to the rich—'This is for you, and this is for you;' for particulars ever touch and awake more then

generalls. Herein also he serves himselfe of the judgements of God, as of those of ancient times, so especially of the late ones, and those most which are nearest to his parish; for people are very attentive at such discourses, and think it behoves them to be so when God is so neer them, and even over their heads. Sometimes he tells them stories and sayings of others, according as his text invites him; for them also men heed, and remember better then exhortations; which, though earnest, yet often dy with the sermon, especially with countrey people, which are thick, and heavy, and hard to raise to a poynt of zeal and fervency, and need a mountaine of fire to kindle them; but stories and sayings they will well remember. He often tels them that sermons are dangerous things; that none goes out of church as he came in, but either better or worse; that none is careless before his judg, and that the Word of God shal judge us. By these and other means the parson procures attention; but the character of his sermon is holiness; he is not witty, or learned, or eloquent, but holy—a character that Hermogenes[15] never dream'd of, and therefore he could give no precepts thereof. But it is gained, first, by choosing texts of devotion, not controversy, moving and ravishing texts, whereof the Scriptures are full. Secondly, by dipping and seasoning all our words and sentences in our hearts before they come into our mouths, truly affecting and cordially expressing all that we say; so

that the auditors may plainly perceive that every word is hart-deep. Thirdly, by turning often and making many apostrophes to God,—as, 'Oh Lord, blesse my people, and teach them this point;' or, 'Oh my Master, on Whose errand I come, let me hold my peace, and do Thou speak Thyselfe; for Thou art love, and when Thou teachest, all are scholers.' Some such irradiations scatteringly in the sermon carry great holiness in them. The Prophets are admirable in this. So Isaiah lxiv. [1]: 'Oh that Thou wouldst rend the heavens, that Thou wouldst come down,' &c. And Jeremy (chapt. x. [23]), after he had complained of the desolation of Israel, turnes to God suddenly, 'Oh Lord, I know that the way of man is not in himself,' &c. Fourthly, by frequent wishes of the people's good, and joying therein, though he himself were, with Saint Paul, even sacrificed upon the service of their faith. For there is no greater sign of holinesse then the procuring and rejoycing in another's good. And herein St. Paul excelled in all his epistles. How did he put the Romans in all his prayers! (Rom. i. 9.) And ceased not to give thanks for the Ephesians (Eph. i. 16); and for the Corinthians (chap. i. 4). And for the Philippians made request with joy (chap. i. 4). And is in contention for them whether to live or dy, be with them or Christ (verse 23); which, setting aside his care of his flock, were a madnesse to doubt of. What an admirable epistle is the second to the Corinthians! how

full of affections! He joyes and he is sorry, he grieves and he gloryes; never was there such care of a flock expressed, save in the great Shepherd of the fold, Who first shed tears over Jerusalem, and afterwards blood. Therefore this care may be learn'd there, and then woven into sermons, which will make them appear exceeding reverend and holy. Lastly, by an often urging of the presence and majesty of God, by these or such like speeches: 'Oh let us all take heed what we do! God sees us; He sees whether I speak as I ought, or you hear as you ought; He sees hearts as we see faces: He is among us; for if we be here, Hee must be here, since we are here by Him, and without Him could not be here.' Then turning the discourse to His majesty, 'And He is a great God and terrible, as great in mercy, so great in judgement. There are but two devouring elements, fire and water; He hath both in Him; His voyce is as "the sound of many waters" (Revelations i. [15]); "and He Himselfe is a consuming fire"' (Hebrews xii. [29]). Such discourses shew very holy. The parson's method in handling of a text consists of two parts: first, a plain and evident declaration of the meaning of the text; and secondly, some choyce observations drawn out of the whole text, as it lyes entire and unbroken in the Scripture itself. This he thinks naturall, and sweet, and grave. Whereas the other way, of crumbling a text into small parts, as the person speaking or spoken to, the subject and

object, and the like, hath neither in it sweetnesse, nor gravity, nor variety; since the words apart are not Scripture, but a dictionary, and may be considered alike in all the Scripture. The parson exceeds not an hour in preaching, because all ages have thought that a competency; and he that profits not in that time will lesse afterwards, the same affection which made him not profit before making him then weary; and so he grows from not relishing to loathing.

Chap. VIII.

The Parson on Sundays.

The countrey parson, as soon as he awakes on Sunday morning, presently falls to work, and seems to himselfe so as a market-man is when the market-day comes, or a shopkeeper when customers [are] used to come in. His thoughts are full of making the best of the day, and contriving it to his best gaines. To this end, besides his ordinary prayers, he makes a peculiar one for a blessing on the exercises of the day; that nothing befall him unworthy of that Majesty before which he is to present himself, but that all may be done with reverence to His glory, and with edification to His flock; humbly beseeching his Master, that how or whenever He punish him, it be not in his ministry. Then he turnes to request for his people that the Lord would be pleased to sanctifie them all, that they may come

with holy hearts and awfull minds into the congregation, and that the good God would pardon all those who come with lesse prepared hearts then they ought. This done, he sets himself to the consideration of the duties of the day; and if there be any extraordinary addition to the customary exercises, either from the time of the year, or from the State, or from God, by a child born or dead, or any other accident, he contrives how and in what manner to induce[16] it to the best advantage. Afterwards, when the hour calls, with his family attending him, he goes to church, at his first entrance humbly adoring and worshipping the invisible majesty and presence of Almighty God, and blessing the people, either openly or to himselfe. Then having read divine service twice fully, and preached in the morning, and catechized in the afternoone, he thinks he hath in some measure, according to poor and fraile man, discharged the publick duties of the congregation. The rest of the day he spends either in reconciling neighbours that are at variance, or in visiting the sick, or in exhortations to some of his flock by themselves, whom his sermons cannot or doe not reach. And every one is more awaked, when we come and say, 'Thou art the man' [2 Samuel xii. 7]. This way he findes exceeding usefull and winning; and these exhortations he cals his privy purse, even as princes have theirs besides their publick disbursements. At night he thinks it a very fit time, both sutable to the joy

of the day and without hindrance to publick duties, either to entertaine some of his neighbours or to be entertained of them; where he takes occasion to discourse of such things as are both profitable and pleasant, and to raise up their mindes to apprehend God's good blessing to our Church and State; that order is kept in the one, and peace in the other, without disturbance, or interruption of publick divine offices. As he opened the day with prayer, so he closeth it, humbly beseeching the Almighty to pardon and accept our poor services, and to improve them, that we may grow therein, and that our feet may be like hindes' feet, ever climbing up higher and higher unto Him.

Chap. IX.

The Parson's State of Life.

The countrey parson considering that virginity is a higher state then matrimony, and that the ministry requires the best and highest things, is rather unmarryed than marryed. But yet as the temper of his body may be, or as the temper of his parish may be, where he may have occasion to converse with women, and that among suspicious men, and other like circumstances considered, he is rather married then unmarried. Let him communicate the thing often by prayer unto God, and as His grace shall direct him, so let him proceed. If he be unmarried, and keepe house, he hath not a

woman in his house, but finds opportunities of having his meat dress'd, and other services done, by men-servants at home, and his linnen washed abroad. If he be unmarryed, and sojourne, he never talkes with any woman alone, but in the audience of others; and that seldom, and then also in a serious manner, never jestingly or sportfully. He is very circumspect in all companyes, both of his behaviour, speech, and very looks, knowing himself to be both suspected and envyed. If he stand steadfast in his heart, having no necessity, but hath power over his own will, and hath so decreed in his heart that he will keep himself a virgin, he spends his dayes in fasting and prayer, and blesseth God for the gift of continency, knowing that it can no way be preserved but only by those means by which at first it was obtained. He therefore thinkes it not enough for him to observe the fasting dayes of the Church, and the dayly prayers enjoyned him by auctority, which he observeth out of humble conformity and obedience, but adds to them, out of choyce and devotion, some other dayes for fasting and hours for prayers; and by these hee keeps his body tame, serviceable, and healthfull, and his soul fervent, active, young, and lusty as an eagle. He often readeth the lives of the primitive monks, hermits, and virgins, and wondreth not so much at their patient suffering, and cheerfull dying, under persecuting emperours (though that, indeed, be very admirable), as at their

daily temperance, abstinence, watchings, and constant prayers and mortifications in the times of peace and prosperity. To put on the profound humility and the exact temperance of our Lord Jesus, with other exemplary vertues of that sort, and to keep them on in the sunshine and noone of prosperity, he findeth to be as necessary, and as difficult at least, as to be cloathed with perfect patience and Christian fortitude in the cold midnight stormes of persecution and adversity. He keepeth his watch and ward night and day against the proper and peculiar temptations of his state of life, which are principally these two—spirituall pride, and impurity of heart; against these ghostly enemies he girdeth up his loynes, keepes the imagination from roving, puts on the whole armour of God, and by the vertue of the shield of faith he is not afraid of the pestilence that walketh in darknesse (carnall impurity), nor of the sicknesse that destroyeth at noone-day (ghostly pride and self-conceite). Other temptations he hath, which, like mortall enemies, may sometimes disquiet him likewise; for the humane soul, being bounded and kept in in her sensitive faculty, will runne out more or less in her intellectuall. Originall concupiscence is such an active thing, by reason of continuall inward or outward temptations, that it is ever attempting or doing one mischief or other; ambition, or untimely desire of promotion to an higher state or place, under colour of accommodation or necessary

provision, is a common temptation to men of any eminency, especially being single men; curiosity in prying into high speculative and unprofitable questions is another great stumbling-block to the holinesse of scholers. These and many other 'spiritual wickednesses in high places' [Ephes. vi. 12] doth the parson fear, or experiment,[17] or both; and that much more being single then if he were married; for then commonly the stream of temptations is turned another way—into covetousnesse, love of pleasure or ease, or the like. If the parson be unmarryed, and means to continue so, he doth at least as much as hath been said. If he be marryed, the choyce of his wife was made rather by his eare then by his eye; his judgement, not his affection, found out a fit wife for him, whose humble and liberall disposition he preferred before beauty, riches, or honour. He knew that (the good instrument of God to bring women to heaven) a wise and loving husband could, out of humility, produce any speciall grace of faith, patience, meeknesse, love, obedience, &c., and out of liberality make her fruitfull in all good works. As hee is just in all things, so is he to his wife also, counting nothing so much his owne as that he may be unjust unto it. Therefore he gives her respect both afore[18] her servants and others, and halfe at least of the government of the house, reserving so much of the affaires as serve for a diversion for him; yet never so giving over the raines but that he sometimes looks

how things go, demanding an account, but not by the way of an account.[19] And this must bee done the oftner or the seldomer, according as hee is satisfied of his wife's discretion.

Chap. X.

The Parson in his House.

The parson is very exact in the governing of his house, making it a copy and modell for his parish. He knows the temper and pulse of every person in his house, and accordingly either meets with their vices or advanceth their vertues. His wife is either religious, or night and day he is winning her to it. Instead of the qualities of the world, he requires onely three of her: first, a trayning up of her children and mayds in the fear of God, with prayers, and catechizing, and all religious duties. Secondly, a curing and healing of all wounds and sores with her owne hands; which skill either she brought with her, or he takes care she shall learn it of some religious neighbour. Thirdly, a providing for her family in such sort as that neither they want a competent sustentation, nor her husband be brought in debt. His children he first makes Christians, and then Commonwealth's men; the one he owes to his heavenly countrey, the other to his earthly, having no title to either except he do good to both. Therefore, having seasoned them with all piety,

not only of words, in praying and reading, but in actions, in visiting other sick children and tending their wounds, and sending his charity by them to the poor, and somtimes giving them a little money to do it of themselves, that they get a delight in it, and enter favour with God, Who weighs even children's actions (1 Kings xiv. 12, 13). He afterwards turnes his care to fit all their dispositions with some calling, not sparing the eldest, but giving him the prerogative of his father's profession, which happily[20] for his other children he is not able to do. Yet in binding them prentices[21] (in case he think fit to do so) he takes care not to put them into vain trades and unbefitting the reverence of their father's calling, such as are tavernes for men, and lace-making for women; because those trades, for the most part, serve but the vices and vanities of the world, which he is to deny and not augment. However, he resolves with himself never to omit any present good deed of charity, in consideration of providing a stock for his children; but assures himselfe that mony thus lent to God is placed surer for his children's advantage then if it were given to the Chamber of London.[22] Good deeds and good breeding are his two great stocks for his children: if God give any thing above those, and not spent in them, he blesseth God, and lays it out as he sees cause. His servants are all religious; and were it not his duty to have them so, it were his profit; for none are so well

served as by religious servants, both because they do best, and because what they do is blessed and prospers. After religion, he teacheth them that three things make a compleate servant: truth, and diligence, and neatnesse or cleanlinesse. Those that can read are allowed times for it, and those that cannot are taught; for all in his house are either teachers or learners, or both; so that his family is a schoole of religion, and they all account that to teach the ignorant is the greatest almes. Even the wals are not idle, but something is written or painted there which may excite the reader to a thought of piety; especially the 101st Psalm, which is expressed in a fayre table, as being the rule of a family. And when they go abroad, his wife among her neighbours is the beginner of good discourses, his children among children, his servants among other servants; so that as in the house of those that are skill'd in musick all are musicians, so in the house of a preacher all are preachers. He suffers not a ly or equivocation by any means in his house, but counts it the art and secret of governing to preserve a directenesse[23] and open plainness in all things; so that all his house knowes that there is no help for a fault done but confession. He himselfe, or his wife, takes account of sermons, and how every one profits, comparing this yeer with the last; and besides the common prayers of the family, he straitly requires of all to pray by themselves before they sleep at night and

stir out in the morning, and knows what prayers they say; and, till they have learned them, makes them kneel by him, esteeming that this private praying is a more voluntary act in them then when they are called to others' prayers, and that which when they leave the family they carry with them. He keeps his servants between love and fear, according as he findes them; but generally he distributes it thus—to his children he shows more love then terrour, to his servants more terrour then love; but an old good servant boards a child.[24] The furniture of his house is very plain, but clean, whole, and sweet, as sweet as his garden can make; for he hath no mony for such things, charity being his only perfume, which deserves cost when he can spare it. His fare is plain and common, but wholsome; what he hath is little, but very good. It consisteth most of mutton, beefe, and veal. If he addes anything for a great day or a stranger, his garden or orchard supplyes it, or his barne and backside:[25] he goes no further for any entertainment, lest he goe into the world, esteeming it absurd that he should exceed who teacheth others temperance. But those which his home produceth he refuseth not, as coming cheap and easie, and arising from the improvement of things which otherwise would be lost. Wherein he admires and imitates the wonderfull providence and thrift of the great Householder of the world; for there being two things which, as they are, are unuseful to man—the one for smallnesse,

as crums and scattered corn and the like; the other for the foulnesse, as wash and durt, and things thereinto fallen—God hath provided creatures for both; for the first poultry, for the second swine. These save man the labour, and doing that which either he could not do, or was not fit for him to do, by taking both sorts of food into them, do as it were dress and prepare both for man in themselves, by growing themselves fit for his table. The parson in his house observes fasting-dayes: and particularly as Sunday is his day of joy, so Friday his day of humiliation, which he celebrates not only with abstinence of diet, but also of company, recreation, and all outward contentments; and besides, with confession of sins and all acts of mortification. Now fasting-dayes contain a treble obligation: first, of eating lesse on that day then on other days; secondly, of eating no pleasing or over-nourishing things, as the Israelites did eate sowre herbs;[26] thirdly, of eating no flesh, which is but the determination of the second rule by Authority to this particular. The two former obligations are much more essentiall to a true fast then the third and last; and fasting-dayes were fully performed by keeping of the two former, had not Authority interposed; so that to eat little, and that unpleasant, is the natural rule of fasting, although it be flesh. For since fasting in Scripture language is an 'afflicting of our souls' [Leviticus xvi. 29], if a peece of dry flesh at my table be more unpleasant to me then

some fish there, certainly to eat the flesh and not the fish is to keep the fasting-day naturally. And it is observable that the prohibiting of flesh came from hot countryes, where both flesh alone, and much more with wine, is apt to nourish more then in cold regions, and where flesh may be much better spared and with more safety then elsewhere, where, both the people and the drink being cold and flegmatick, the eating of flesh is an antidote to both. For it is certaine, that a weak stomack being prepossessed[27] with flesh shall much better brooke and bear a draught of beer then if it had taken before either fish, or rootes,[28] or such things; which will discover itself by spitting, and rheume, or flegme. To conclude: the parson, if he be in full health, keeps the three obligations, eating fish or roots, and that for quantity little, for quality unpleasant. If his body be weak and obstructed, as most students are, he cannot keep the last obligation, nor suffer others in his house that are so to keep it; but only the two former, which also in diseases of exinanition[29] (as consumptions) must be broken; for meat was made for man, not man for meat. To all this may be added, not for emboldening the unruly, but for the comfort of the weak, that not only sicknesse breaks these obligations of fasting, but sicklinesse also; for it is as unnatural to do any thing that leads me to a sicknesse to which I am inclined, as not to get out of that sicknesse, when I am in it, by any diet. One

thing is evident, that an English body and a student's body are two great obstructed vessels; and there is nothing that is food and not phisick which doth lesse obstruct then flesh moderately taken; as, being immoderately taken, it is exceeding obstructive. And obstructions are the cause of most diseases.[30]

Chap. XI.

The Parson's Courtesie.

The countrey parson owing a debt of charity to the poor, and of courtesie to his other parishioners,[31] he so distinguisheth that he keeps his money for the poor, and his table for those that are above alms. Not but that the poor are welcome also to his table, whom he sometimes purposely takes home with him, setting them close by him, and carving for them, both for his own humility and their comfort, who are much cheered with such friendlinesses. But since both is to be done, the better sort invited, and meaner relieved, he chooseth rather to give the poor money, which they can better employ to their own advantage, and suitably to their needs, then so much given in meat at dinner. Having, then, invited some of his parish, hee taketh his times to do the like to the rest; so that in the compasse of the year hee hath them all with him, because countrey people are very observant of such things, and will not be perswaded, but being not invited, they are hated.

Which perswasion the parson by all means avoyds, knowing that where there are such conceits, there is no room for his doctrine to enter. Yet doth hee oftenest invite those whom hee sees take best courses, that so both they may be encouraged to persevere, and others spurred to do well, that they may enjoy the like courtesie. For though he desire that all should live well and vertuously, not for any reward of his, but for vertue's sake, yet that will not be so; and therefore, as God, although we should love Him onely for His own sake, yet out of His infinite pity hath set forth heaven for a reward to draw men to piety, and is content if at least so they will become good; so the countrey parson, who is a diligent observer and tracker of God's wayes, sets up as many encouragements to goodnesse as he can, both in honour and profit and fame, that he may, if not the best way, yet any way, make his parish good.

Chap. XII.

The Parson's Charity.

The countrey parson is full of charity; it is his predominant element. For many and wonderfull things are spoken of thee, thou great vertue. To charity is given the covering of sins (1 Pet. iv. 8); and the forgiveness of sins (Matthew vi. 14, Luke vii. 47); the fulfilling of the law (Romans xiii. 10); the life of faith (James ii. 26); the blessings of this life (Proverbs xxii.

9, Psalm xli. 2); and the reward of the next (Matthew xxv. 35). In brief, it is the body of religion (John xiii. 35); and the top of Christian vertues (1 Corinthians xiii. [13]). Wherefore all his works rellish of charity. When he riseth in the morning, he bethinketh himselfe what good deeds he can do that day, and presently doth them; counting that day lost wherein he hath not exercised his charity. He first considers his own parish, and takes care that there be not a begger or idle person in his parish, but that all bee in a competent way of getting their living. This he effects either by bounty, or perswasion, or by authority, making use of that excellent statute which bindes all parishes to maintaine their own. If his parish be rich, he exacts this of them; if poor, and he able, he easeth them therein. But he gives no set pension to any, for this in time will lose the name and effect of charity with the poor people, though not with God, for then they will reckon upon it as on a debt; and if it be taken away, though justly, they will murmur and repine as much as he that is disseized of his own inheritance. But the parson having a double aime, and making a hook of his charity,[32] causeth them still to depend on him; and so by continuall and fresh bounties, unexpected to them, but resolved to himself, hee wins them to praise God more, to live more religiously, and to take more paines in their vocation, as not knowing when they shal be relieved; which otherwise they

would reckon upon, and turn to idlenesse. Besides this generall provision, he hath other times of opening his hand, as at great festivals and communions, not suffering any that day that hee receives, to want a good meal suting to the joy of the occasion. But specially at hard times and dearths he even parts his living and life among them, giving some corn outright, and selling other at under-rates; and when his own stock serves not, working those that are able to the same charity, still pressing it in the pulpit and out of the pulpit, and never leaving them till he obtain his desire. Yet in all his charity he distinguisheth, giving them most who live best, and take most paines, and are most charged: so is his charity in effect a sermon. After the consideration of his own parish, he inlargeth himself, if he be able, to the neighbourhood—for that also is some kind of obligation: so doth he also to those at his doer, whom God puts in his way, and makes his neighbours. But these he helps not without some testimony, except the evidence of the misery bring testimony with it. For though these testimonies also may be falsyfied, yet considering that the law allows these in case they be true, but allows by no means to give without testimony, as he obeys Authority in the one, so that being once satisfied, he allows his charity some blindnesse in the other, especially since of the two commands we are more injoyned to be charitable then wise. But evident miseries have a na-

turall priviledge, and exemption from all law. Whenever he gives any thing, and sees them labour in thanking of him, he exacts of them to let him alone, and say rather, 'God be praised, God be glorified;' that so the thanks may go the right way, and thither onely where they are only due. So doth hee also before giving make them say their prayers first, or the creed and ten commandments, and as he finds them perfect, rewards them the more. For other givings are lay and secular, but this is to give like a priest.

Chap. XIII.

The Parson's Church.

The countrey parson hath a speciall care of his church, that all things there be decent, and befitting His name by which it is called. Therefore, first, he takes order that all things be in good repair, as walls plaistered, windows glazed, floore paved, seats whole, firm, and uniform; especially that the pulpit, and desk, and communion-table, and font be as they ought, for those great duties that are performed in them. Secondly, that the church be swept and kept clean, without dust or cobwebs, and at great festivals strawed and stuck with boughs, and perfumed with incense.[33] Thirdly, that there be fit and proper texts of Scripture everywhere painted, and that all the painting be grave and reverend, not with light colours or foolish anticks.[34]

Fourthly, that all the books appointed by Authority be there, and those not torne or fouled, but whole and clean and well bound: and that there be a fitting and sightly communion cloth 'of fine linen, with an handsome and seemly carpet of good and costly stuffe or cloth, and all kept sweet and clean, in a strong and decent chest, with a chalice and cover, and a stoop or flagon, and a basin for almes and offerings; besides which, he hath a poor-man's box conveniently seated, to receive the charity of well-minded people, and to lay up treasure for the sick and needy.' And all this he doth, not as out of necessity, or as putting a holiness in the things, but as desiring to keep the middle way between superstition and slovenlinesse, and as following the Apostle's two great and admirable rules in things of this nature: the first whereof is, 'Let all things be done decently and in order:' the second, 'Let all things be done to edification' (1 Cor. xiv. [3]). For these two rules comprize and include the double object of our duty—God and our neighbour; the first being for the honour of God, the second for the benefit of our neighbour: so that they excellently score[35] out the way, and fully and exactly contain, even in externall and indifferent things, what course is to be taken: and put them to great shame who deny the Scripture to be perfect.

Chap. XIV.

The Parson in Circuit.

The countrey parson upon the afternoons in the week-days takes occasion sometimes to visite in person now one quarter of his parish, now another. For there he shall find his flock most naturally as they are, wallowing in the midst of their affairs; whereas on Sunday it is easie for them to compose themselves to order, which they put on as their holyday cloathes, and come to church in frame, but commonly the next day put off both. When he comes to any house, first he blesseth it, and then as hee finds the persons of the house imployed, so he formes his discourse. Those that he findes religiously imployed, he both commends them much, and furthers them when he is gone in their imployment; as, if hee findes them reading, hee furnisheth them with good books; if curing poor people, hee supplies them with receipts, and instructs them further in that skill, shewing them how acceptable such works are to God, and wishing them ever to do the cures with their own hands, and not to put them over to servants. Those that he finds busy in the works of their calling, he commendeth them also; for 'it is a good and just thing for every one to do their own busines' [1 Thessal. iv. 11]. But then he admonisheth them of two things: first, that they dive not too deep into worldly affairs, plunging themselves

over head and eares into carking and caring; but that they so labour as neither to labour anxiously, nor distrustfully, nor profanely. Then they labour anxiously when they overdo it, to the loss of their quiet and health; then distrustfully, when they doubt God's providence, thinking that their own labour is the cause of their thriving, as if it were in their own hands to thrive or not to thrive. Then they labour profanely,[36] 'when they set themselves to work like brute beasts, never raising their thoughts to God, nor sanctifying their labour with daily prayer; when on the Lord's-day they do unnecessary servile work, or in time of divine service on other holydays, except in the cases of extreme poverty, and in the seasons of seed-time and harvest.' Secondly, he adviseth them so to labour for wealth and maintenance as that they make not that the end of their labour, but that they may have wherewithall to serve God the better, and to do good deeds. After these discourses, if they be poor and needy whom he thus finds labouring, he gives them somewhat; and opens not only his mouth but his purse to their relief, that so they go on more cheerfully in their vocation, and himself be ever the more welcome to them. Those that the parson findes idle, or ill-imployed, he chides not at first, for that were neither civill nor profitable; but always in the close, before he departs from them: yet in this he distinguisheth; for if he be a plaine countryman, he reproves him

plainly, for they are not sensible of finenesse : if they be of higher quality, they commonly are quick, and sensible, and very tender of reproof ; and therefore he lays his discourse so, that he comes to the point very leisurely, and oftentimes, as Nathan did, in the person of another, making them to reprove themselves. However, one way or other, he ever reproves them, that he may keep himself pure, and not be intangled in others' sinnes. Neither in this doth he forbear though there be company by ; for as, when the offence is particular and against mee, I am to follow our Saviour's rule, and to take my brother aside and reprove him, so when the offence is publicke and against God, I am then to follow the Apostle's rule (1 Timothy v. 20), and to 'rebuke openly' that which is done openly. Besides these occasional discourses, the parson questions what order is kept in the house, as about prayers morning and evening, on their knees, reading of Scripture, catechizing, singing of psalms at their work and on holydays ; who can read, who not ; and sometimes he hears the children read himselfe, and blesseth, encouraging also the servants to learn to read, and offering to have them taught on holydayes by his servants. If the parson were ashamed of particularizing in these things, hee were not fit to be a parson ; but he holds the rule, that nothing is little in God's service ; if it once have the honour of that name, it grows great instantly. Wherefore neither disdaineth he to enter into

the poorest cottage, though he even creep into it, and though it smell never so lothsomly. For both God is there also, and those for whom God dyed: and so much the rather doth he so, as his accesse to the poor is more comfortable then to the rich: and in regard of himselfe, it is more humiliation. These are the parson's general aims in his circuit; but with these he mingles other discourses for conversation sake, and to make his higher purposes slip the more easily.

Chap. XV.

The Parson comforting.

The countrey parson, when any of his cure is sick, or afflicted with losse of friend or estate, or any ways distressed, fails not to afford his best comforts, and rather goes to them then sends for the afflicted, though they can, and otherwise ought to come to him. To this end he hath throughly digested all the points of consolation, as having continuall use of them, such as are from God's generall providence, extended even to lillyes; from His particular to His Church; from His promises; from the examples of all saints that ever were; from Christ Himself, perfecting our redemption no other way then by sorrow; from the benefit of affliction, which softens and works the stubborn heart of man; from the certainty both of deliverance and reward, if we faint not; from the miserable[37] compari-

son of the moment of griefs here with the weight of joyes hereafter. Besides this, 'in his visiting the sick or otherwise afflicted he followeth the Churche's counsell, namely, in perswading them to particular confession, labouring to make them understand the great good use of this ancient and pious ordinance, and how necessary it is in some cases; he also urgeth them to do some pious charitable works, as a necessary evidence and fruit of their faith, at that time especially; the participation of the holy sacrament, how comfortable and sovereigne a medicine it is to all sin-sick souls, what strength and joy and peace it administers against all temptations, even to death itself, he plainly and generally intimateth to the disaffected[38] or sick person, that so the hunger and thirst after it may come rather from themselves than from his perswasion.

Chap. XVI.

The Parson a Father.

The countrey parson is not only a father[39] to his flock, but also professeth himselfe throughly of the opinion, carrying it about with him as fully as if he had begot his whole parish. And of this he makes great use. For by this means, when any sinns, he hateth him not as an officer, but pities him as a father; and even in those wrongs which, either in tithing or otherwise, are done to his owne person, he considers

the offender as a child, and forgives, so hee may have any signe of amendment; so also when, after many admonitions, any continue to be refractory, yet hee gives him not over, but is long before hee proceede to disinheriting, or perhaps never goes so far; knowing that some are called at the eleventh houre, and therefore hee still expects and waits, lest he should determine[40] God's houre of coming; which as hee cannot, touching the last day, so neither touching the intermediate days of conversion.

Chap. XVII.

The Parson in Journey.

The countrey parson, when a just occasion calleth him out of his parish (which he diligently and strictly weigheth, his parish being all his joy and thought), leaveth not his ministry behind him; but is himselfe wherever he is. Therefore those he meets on the way he blesseth audibly, and with those he overtakes or that overtake him hee begins good discourses, such as may edify, interposing sometimes some short and honest refreshments, which may make his other discourses more welcome and lesse tedious. And when he comes to his inn, he refuseth not to joyne, that he may enlarge the glory of God to the company he is in, by a due blessing of God for their safe arrival, and saying grace at meat, and at going to bed by giving the

host notice that he will have prayers in the hall, wishing him to informe his guests thereof, that if any be willing to partake, they may resort thither. The like he doth in the morning, using pleasantly the outlandish proverb, that 'prayers and provender never hinder journey.' When he comes to any other house, where his kindred or other relations give him any authority over the family, if hee be to stay for a time, hee considers diligently the state thereof to Godward, and that in two points: first, what disorders there are either in apparell, or diet, or too open a buttery, or reading vain books, or swearing, or breeding up children to no calling, but in idleness or the like; secondly, what means of piety, whether daily prayers be used, grace, reading of Scriptures and other good books, how Sundayes, holydays, and fasting-days are kept. And accordingly, as he finds any defect in these, he first considers with himselfe what kind of remedy fits the temper of the house best, and then hee faithfully and boldly applyeth it, yet seasonably and discreetly, by taking aside the lord or lady, or master and mistres of the house, and shewing them cleerly that they respect them most who wish them best, and that not a desire to meddle with others' affairs, but the earnestnesse to do all the good he can, moves him to say thus and thus.

Chap. XVIII.

The Parson in Sentinell.

The countrey parson, wherever he is, keeps God's watch; that is, there is nothing spoken or done in the company where he is, but comes under his test and censure.[41] If it be well spoken or done, he takes occasion to commend and enlarge it; if ill, he presently lays hold of it, lest the poison steal into some young and unwary spirits, and possesse them even before they themselves heed it. But this he doth discreetly, with mollifying and suppling[42] words: 'This was not so well said as it might have been forborn;' 'We cannot allow this:' or else, if the thing will admit interpretation, 'Your meaning is not thus, but thus;' or, 'So far indeed what you say is true, and well said; but this will not stand.' This is called 'keeping God's watch,' when the baits which the enemy lays in company are discovered and avoyded; this is to be on God's side, and be true to His party. Besides, if he perceive in company any discourse tending to ill, either by the wickedness or quarrelsomenesse thereof, he either prevents it judiciously, or breaks it off seasonably by some diversion. Wherein a pleasantness of disposition is of great use, men being willing to sell the interest and ingagement of their discourses for no price sooner then that of mirth;[43] whither the nature of man, loving re-

freshment, gladly betakes itselfe, even to the losse of honour.

Chap. XIX.

The Parson in Reference.

The countrey parson is sincere and upright in all his relations. And first he is just to his countrey; as when he is set at an armour[44] or horse, he borrowes them not to serve the turne, nor provides slight and unusefull, but such as are every way fitting to do his countrey true and laudable service, when occasion requires. To do otherwise is deceit; and therefore not for him, who is hearty, and true in all his wayes, as being the servant of Him 'in Whom there was no guile' [1 Peter ii. 22]. Likewise in any other countrey-duty he considers what is the end of any command, and then he suits things faithfully according to that end. Secondly, he carries himself very respectively[45] as to all the fathers of the Church, so especially to his diocesan, honouring him both in word and behaviour, and resorting unto him in any difficulty, either in his studies or in his parish. He observes visitations, and being there, makes due use of them, as of clergy councels for the benefit of the diocese. And therefore, before he comes having observed some defects in the ministry, he then, either in sermon if he preach, or at some other time of the day, propounds among his brethren what were fitting to be done. Thirdly, he keeps good cor-

respondence with all the neighbouring pastours round about him, performing for them any ministeriall office which is not to the prejudice of his own parish. Likewise he welcomes to his house any minister, how poor or mean soever, with as joyfull a countenance as if he were to entertain some great lord. Fourthly, he fulfills the duty and debt of neighbourhood to all the parishes which are near him; for the Apostle's rule (Philip. iv. [8]) being admirable and large, that we should do 'whatsoever things are honest, or just, or pure, or lovely, or of good report, if there be any vertue or any praise.' And neighbourhood being ever reputed, even among the heathen, as an obligation to do good, rather then to those that are further, where things are otherwise equall, therefore he satisfies this duty also. Especially if God have sent any calamity, either by fire or famine, to any neighbouring parish, then he expects no briefe; but taking his parish together the next Sunday or holy-day, and exposing to them the uncertainty of humane affairs, none knowing whose turne may be next, and then when he hath affrighted them with this, exposing the obligation of charity and neighbourhood, he first gives himself liberally, and then incites them to give; making together a summe either to be sent, or, which were more comfortable, all together choosing some fit day to carry it themselves and cheere the afflicted. So, if any neighbouring village be overburdened with poore, and his

owne lesse charged, hee finds some way of releeving it, and reducing the manna and bread of charity to some equality; representing to his people that the blessing of God to them ought to make them the more charitable, and not the lesse lest He cast their neighbours' poverty on them also.

Chap. XX.

The Parson in God's Stead.

The countrey parson is in God's stead to his parish, and dischargeth God what he can of His promises. Wherefore there is nothing done either wel or ill whereof he is not the rewarder or punisher. If he chance to finde any reading in another's Bible, he provides him one of his own. If he finde another giving a poor man a penny, he gives him a tester[46] for it, if the giver be fit to receive it; or if he be of a condition above such gifts, he sends him a good book, or easeth him in his tithes, telling him when he hath forgotten it, 'This I do, because at such and such a time you were charitable.' This is in some sort a discharging of God as concerning this life, Who hath promised that godliness shall be gainfull; but in the other, God is His own immediate paymaster, rewarding all good deeds to their full proportion. 'The parson's punishing of sin and vice is rather by withdrawing his bounty and courtesie from the parties offending, or by private or

publick reproof, as the case requires, then by causing them to be presented or otherwise complained of. And yet, as the malice of the person or heinousness of the crime may be, he is carefull to see condign punishment inflicted, and with truly godly zeal, without hatred to the person, hungreth and thirsteth after righteous punishment of unrighteousnesse. Thus both in rewarding vertue and in punishing vice, the parson endeavoureth to be in God's stead, knowing that countrey people are drawn or led by sense more then by faith, by present rewards or punishments more then by future.'

Chap. XXI.

The Parson catechizing.[47]

The countrey parson values catechizing highly; for there being three points of his duty—the one, to infuse a competent knowledge of salvation in every one of his flock; the other to multiply and build up this knowledge to a spirituall temple; the third, to inflame this knowledge, to presse and drive it to practice, turning it to reformation of life by pithy and lively exhortations—catechizing is the first point, and but by catechizing the other cannot be attained. Besides, whereas in sermons there is a kinde of state, in catechizing there is an humblenesse very suitable to Christian regeneration; which exceedingly delights him as by way of exercise upon himself, and by way of preaching to

himselfe, for the advancing of his own mortification; for in preaching to others he forgets not himself, but is first a sermon to himself, and then to others, growing with the growth of his parish. He useth and preferreth the ordinary Church Catechism, partly for obedience to authority, partly for uniformity sake, that the same common truths may be every where professed, especially since many remove from parish to parish, who, like Christian souldiers, are to give the word and to satisfy the congregation by their Catholick answers. He exacts of all the doctrine of the Catechisme: of the younger sort, the very words; of the elder, the substance.[48] Those he catechizeth publickly, these privately, giving age honour, according to the Apostle's rule (1 Tim. v. 1). He requires all to be present at catechizing: first, for the authority of the work; secondly, that parents and masters, as they hear the answers prove, may, when they come home, either commend or reprove, either reward or punish; thirdly, that those of the elder sort, who are not well grounded, may then by an honourable way take occasion to be better instructed; fourthly, that those who are well grown in the knowledge of religion may examine their grounds, renew their vowes, and by occasion of both inlarge their meditations. When once all have learned the words of the Catechisme, he thinks it the most usefull way that a pastor can take to go over the same, but in other words; for many say the Catechisme by

rote, as parrats, without ever piercing into the sense of it. In this course the order of the Catechism would be kept, but the rest varyed: as thus in the Creed: 'How came this world to be as it is? Was it made, or came it by chance? Who made it? Did you see God make it? Then are there some things to be beleeved that are not seen? Is this the nature of beliefe? Is not Christianity full of such things, as are not to be seen, but beleeved? You said God made the world; who is God?' And so forward, requiring answers to all these, and helping and cherishing the answerer, by making the questions very plaine with comparisons, and making much even of a word of truth from him. This order being used to one, would be a little varyed to another. And this is an admirable way of teaching, wherein the catechized will at length find delight, and by which the catechizer, if he once get the skill of it, will draw out of ignorant and silly[49] souls even the dark and deep points of religion. Socrates did thus in philosophy, who held that the seeds of all truths lay in every body, and accordingly, by questions well ordered, he found philosophy in silly tradesmen. That position will not hold in Christianity, because it contains things above nature; but after that the Catechisme is once learn'd, that which nature is towards philosophy the Catechism is towards divinity. To this purpose, some dialogues in Plato were worth the reading, where the singular dexterity of Socrates in

this kind may be observed and imitated. Yet the skill consists but in these three points: First, an aim and mark of the whole discourse whither to drive the answerer, which the questionist must have in his mind before any question be propounded, upon which and to which the questions are to be chained. Secondly, a most plain and easie framing the question, even containing in vertue[50] the answer also, especially to the more ignorant. Thirdly, when the answerer sticks, in illustrating the thing by something else which he knows, making what he knows to serve him in that which he knows not: as when the parson once demanded, after other questions about man's misery, 'Since man is so miserable, what is to be done?' and the answerer could not tell, he asked him again what he would do if he were in a ditch. This familiar illustration made the answer so plaine, that he was even ashamed of his ignorance; for he could not but say he would haste out of it as fast as he could. Then he proceeded to ask whether he could get out of the ditch alone, or whether he needed a helper, and who was that helper. This is the skill, and doubtlesse the Holy Scripture intends thus much when it condescends to the naming of a plough, a hatchet, a bushell, leaven, boyes piping and dancing; shewing that things of ordinary use are not only to serve in the way of drudgery, but to be washed and cleansed, and serve for lights even of heavenly truths. This is the

practice which the parson so much commends to all his fellow-labourers; the secret of whose good consists in this—that at sermons and prayers men may sleep or wander; but when one is asked a question, he must discover what he is. This practice exceeds even sermons in teaching: but there being two things in sermons, the one informing, the other inflaming, as sermons come short of questions in the one, so they far exceed them in the other. For questions cannot inflame or ravish; that must be done by a set, and laboured, and continued speech.

Chap. XXII.

The Parson in Sacraments.

The countrey parson being to administer the sacraments is at a stand with himself how or what behaviour to assume for so holy things. Especially at communion times he is in a great confusion,[51] as being not only to receive God, but to break and administer Him. Neither finds he any issue in this, but to throw himself down at the throne of grace, saying, 'Lord, Thou knowest what Thou didst when Thou appointedst it to be done thus; therefore doe Thou fulfill what Thou dost appoint; for Thou art not only the feast, but the way to it.' At Baptisme, being himselfe in white, he requires the presence of all, and baptizeth not willingly, but on Sundayes or great dayes. Hee admits no vaine or

idle names,[52] but such as are usuall and accustomed.[53] Hee says that prayer with great devotion where God is thanked for 'calling us to the knowledg of His grace,' Baptisme being a blessing that the world hath not the like. He willingly and cheerfully crosseth the child, and thinketh the ceremony not only innocent, but reverend. He instructeth the godfathers and godmothers that it is no complementall or light thing to sustain that place, but a great honour, and no less burden, as being done both in the presence of God and His Saints, and by way of undertaking for a Christian soul. He adviseth all to call to mind their baptism often; for if wise men have thought it the best way of preserving a State to reduce it to its principles by which it grew great, certainly it is the safest course for Christians also to meditate on their baptisme often (being the first step into their great and glorious calling), and upon what termes and with what vows they were baptized. At the times of the Holy Communion he first takes order with the church-wardens, that the elements be of the best, not cheape or course,[54] much less ill-tasted or unwholsome. Secondly, he considers and looks into the ignorance or carelessness of his flock, and accordingly applies himself with catechizings and lively exhortations, not on the Sunday of the communion only (for then it is too late), but the Sunday or Sundayes before the communion, or on the eves of all those dayes. If there be any who, having not re-

ceived yet, is to enter into this great work, he takes the more pains with them, that hee may lay the foundation of future blessings. The time of every one's first receiving is not so much by yeers as by understanding: particularly the rule may be this: when any one can distinguish the sacramentall from common bread, knowing the institution and the difference, hee ought to receive, of what age soever. Children and youths are usually deferred too long, under pretence of devotion to the sacrament; but it is for want of instruction; their understandings being ripe enough for ill things, and why not then for better? But parents and masters should make hast in this, as to a great purchase for their children and servants; which, while they deferr, both sides suffer—the one, in wanting many excitings of grace; the other, in being worse served and obeyed. The saying of the Catechism is necessary, but not enough, because to answer in form may still admit ignorance; but the questions must be propounded loosely and wildely,[55] and then the answerer will discover what hee is. Thirdly, for the manner of receiving, as the parson useth all reverence himself, so he administers to none but to the reverent. The feast indeed requires sitting, because it is a feast; but man's unpreparednesse asks kneeling. Hee that comes to the sacrament hath the confidence of a guest, and hee that kneels confesseth himself an unworthy one, and therefore differs from other feasters: but hee that sits or

lies puts up to an Apostle;[55] contentiousnesse in a feast of charity is more scandall then any posture. Fourthly, touching the frequency of the Communion, the parson celebrates it, if not duly once a month, yet at least five or six times in the year: as at Easter, Christmasse, Whitsuntide, afore[56] and after harvest, and the beginning of Lent. And this hee doth not onely for the benefit of the work, but also for the discharge of the church-wardens, who, being to present[57] all that receive not thrice a year, if there be but three communions, neither can all the people so order their affairs as to receive just at those times, nor the church-wardens so well take notice who receive thrice, and who not.

Chap. XXIII.

The Parson's Completenesse.

The countrey parson desires to be all to his parish, and not only a pastour, but a lawyer also and a phisitian. Therefore hee endures not that any of his flock should go to law; but in any controversie that they should resort to him as their judg.[58] To this end he hath gotten to himself some insight in things ordinarily incident and controverted, by experience and by reading some initiatory treatises in the law, with Dalton's 'Justice of Peace'[59] and the 'Abridgements of the Statutes,' as also by discourse with men of that profession whom he hath ever some cases to ask when he meets with

them; holding that rule, that to put men to discourse of that wherein they are most eminent is the most gainfull way of conversation.[60] Yet whenever any controversie is brought to him, he never decides it alone; but sends for three or four of the ablest of the parish to hear the cause with him, whom he makes to deliver their opinion first; out of which he gathers, in case he be ignorant himself, what to hold; and so the thing passeth with more authority and lesse envy. In judging, he followes that which is altogether right; so that if the poorest man of the parish detain but a pin unjustly from the richest, he absolutely restores it as a judge; but when he hath so done, then he assumes the parson and exhorts to charity. Nevertheless, there may happen somtimes some cases wherein he chooseth to permit his parishioners rather to make use of the law then himself: as in cases of an obscure and dark nature, not easily determinable by lawyers themselves; or in cases of high consequence, as establishing of inheritances; or lastly, when the persons in difference are of a contentious disposition, and cannot be gained, but that they still fall from all compromises that have been made. But then he shews them how to go to law even as brethren, and not as enemies; neither avoyding therefore one another's company, much lesse defaming one another. Now as the parson is in law, so is he in sicknesse also; if there be any of his flock sick, hee is their physician, or at least his

wife, of whom, instead of the qualities of the world, he asks no other but to have the skill of healing a wound or helping the sick. But if neither himselfe nor his wife have the skil, and his means serve, he keepes some young practitioner in his house for the benefit of his parish, whom yet he ever exhorts not to exceed his bounds, but in tickle[61] cases to call in help. If all fail, then he keeps good correspondence with some neighbour phisician, and entertaines him for the cure of his parish. Yet it is easie for any scholar to attaine to such a measure of physick as may be of much use to him both for himself and others. This is done by seeing one anatomy,[62] reading one book of phisick, having one herball by him. And let Fernelius be the phisick author, for he writes briefly, neatly, and judiciously; especially let his method of phisick be diligently perused, as being the practicall part, and of most use. Now both the reading of him and the knowing of herbs may be done at such times as they may be an help and a recreation to more divine studies, Nature serving grace both in comfort of diversion and the benefit of application when need requires, as also by way of illustration, even as our Saviour made plants and seeds to teach the people; for He was the true householder who bringeth out of his treasure things new and old—the old things of philosophy and the new of grace—and maketh the one serve the other. And I conceive our Saviour did this for three reasons:

first, that by familiar things Hee might make His doctrine slip the more easily into the hearts even of the meanest; secondly, that labouring people (whom He chiefly considered) might have every where monuments of His doctrine, remembring in gardens His mustard-seed and lillyes, in the field His seed-corn and tares, and so not be drowned altogether in the works of their vocation, but sometimes lift up their minds to better things, even in the midst of their pains; thirdly, that He might set a copy for parsons. In the knowledge of simples, wherein the manifold wisdom of God is wonderfully to be seen, one thing would be carefully observed; which is, to know what herbs may be used instead of drugs of the same nature, and to make the garden the shop. For home-bred medicines are both more easie for the parson's purse, and more familiar for all men's bodyes. So where the apothecary useth either for loosing, rubarb, or for binding, bolearmena, the parson useth damask or white roses for the one, and plaintaine, shepherd's purse, knot-grasse for the other, and that with better successe.[63] As for spices, he doth not only prefer home-bred things before them, but condemns them for vanities, and so shuts them out of his family, esteeming that there is no spice comparable for herbs to rosemary, time, savoury, mints; and for seeds, to fennell and carroway seeds. Accordingly for salves his wife seeks not the city, but prefers her garden and fields before all outlandish gums. And

surely hyssope, valerian, mercury, adder's tongue, yerrow, melilot, and Saint John's-wort made into a salve, and elder, camomill, mallowes, comphrey, and smallage made into a poultis, have done great and rare cures.[64] In curing of any, the parson and his family use to premise prayers; for this is to cure like a parson, and this raiseth the action from the shop to the church. But though the parson sets forward all charitable deeds, yet he looks not in this point of curing beyond his own parish, except the person bee so poor that he is not able to reward the physician; for as hee is charitable, so he is just also. Now it is a justice and debt to the commonwealth he lives in not to incroach on others' professions, but to live on his own. And justice is the ground of charity.

Chap. XXIV.

The Parson's Arguing.

The countrey parson, if there be any of his parish that hold strange doctrins, useth all possible diligence to reduce them to the common faith. The first means he useth is prayer, beseeching the Father of lights to open their eyes, and to give him power so to fit his discourse to them that it may effectually pierce their hearts and convert them. The second means is a very loving and sweet usage of them, both in going to and sending for them often, and in finding out courtesies to place on them, as in their tithes or otherwise. The

third means is the observation what is the main foundation and pillar of their cause wherein they rely; as if he be a papist, the Church is the hinge he turns on; if a schismatick, scandall. Wherefore the parson hath diligently examined these two with himselfe, as what the Church is, how it began, how it proceeded; whether it be a rule to itselfe; whether it hath a rule; whether having a rule it ought not to be guided by it; whether any rule in the world be obscure; and how then should the best be so, at least in fundamental things, the obscurity in some points being the exercise of the Church, the light in the foundations being the guide; the Church needing both an evidence and an exercise. So for scandall: what scandall is, when given or taken; whether, there being two precepts, one of obeying authority, the other of not giving scandall, that ought not to be preferred, especially since in disobeying there is scandall also; whether things once indifferent being made by the precept of authority more then indifferent, it be in our power to omit or refuse them. These and the like points hee hath accurately digested, having ever besides two great helps and powerful perswaders on his side: the one a strict religious life; the other an humble and ingenuous search of truth; being unmoved in arguing, and voyd of all contentiousnesse;[65] which are two great lights able to dazle the eyes of the misled, while they consider that God cannot be wanting to them in doctrine to whom He is so gracious in life.

Chap. XXV.

The Parson Punishing.

Whensoever the countrey parson proceeds so farre as to call in authority, and to do such things of legall opposition either in the presenting or punishing of any as the vulgar every consters[66] for signes of ill will, he forbears not in any wise to use the delinquent as before in his behaviour and carriage towards him, not avoyding his company, or doing any thing of aversenesse, save in the very act of punishment; neither doth he esteem him for an enemy, but as a brother still, except some small and temporary estranging may corroborate the punishment to a better subduing and humbling of the delinquent; which if it happily take effect, he then comes on the faster, and makes so much the more of him as before he alienated himselfe, doubling his regards, and shewing by all means that the delinquent's return is to his advantage.

Chap. XXVI.

The Parson's Eye.

The countrey parson at spare times from action, standing on a hill, and considering his flock, discovers two sorts of vices and two sorts of vicious persons. There are some vices whose natures are alwayes clear and evident, as adultery, murder, hatred, lying, &c. There are other vices whose natures, at least in the

beginning, are dark and obscure, as covetousnesse and gluttony. So likewise there are some persons who abstain not even from known sins. There are others who, when they know a sin evidently,[67] they commit it not. It is true, indeed, they are long a-knowing it, being partiall to themselves, and witty[68] to others who shall reprove them from it. A man may be both covetous and intemperate, and yet hear sermons against both, and himselfe condemn both in good earnest; and the reason hereof is, because the natures of these vices being not evidently discussed, or known commonly, the beginnings of them are not easily observabled;[69] and the beginnings of them are not observed, because of the suddain passing from that which was just now lawfull to that which is presently unlawfull, even in one continued action. So a man dining, eats at first lawfully; but proceeding on, comes to do unlawfully, even before he is aware, not knowing the bounds of the action, nor when his eating begins to be unlawfull. So a man storing up mony for his necessary provisions, both in present for his family and in future for his children, hardly perceives when his storing becomes unlawfull; yet is there a period[70] for his storing, and a point or center when his storing, which was even now good, passeth from good to bad. Wherefore the parson, being true to his businesse, hath exactly sifted the definitions of all vertues and vices; especially canvassing those whose natures are most

stealing and beginnings uncertain. Particularly concerning these two vices, not because they are all that are of this dark and creeping disposition, but for example sake, and because they are most common, he thus thinks: first, for covetousnes he lays this ground—whosoever, when a just occasion cals, either spends not at all, or not in some proportion to God's blessing upon him, is covetous. The reason of the ground is manifest, because wealth is given to that end, to supply our occasions. Now, if I do not give every thing its end, I abuse the creature, I am false to my reason which should guide me, I offend the supreme Judg, in perverting that order which He hath set both to things and to reason. The application of the ground would be infinite; but in brief, a poor man is an occasion, my countrey is an occasion, my friend is an occasion, my table is an occasion, my apparell is an occasion: if in all these, and those more which concerne me, I either do nothing, or pinch and scrape and squeeze blood indecently to the station wherein God hath placed me, I am covetous. More particularly, and to give one instance for all, if God have given me servants, and I either provide too little for them, or that which is unwholsome, being sometimes baned[71] meat, sometimes too salt, and so not competent nourishment, I am covetous. I bring this example, because men usually think that servants for their mony are as other things that they buy, even as a piece of wood, which

they may cut, or hack, or throw into the fire; and so they pay them their wages, all is well. Nay, to descend yet more particularly, if a man hath wherewithall to buy a spade, and yet hee chuseth rather to use his neighbour's, and wear out that, he is covetous. Nevertheless, few bring covetousness thus low, or consider it so narrowly; which yet ought to be done, since there is a justice in the least things, and for the least there shall be a judgment. Countrey people are full of these petty injustices, being cunning to make use of another, and spare themselves; and scholers ought to be diligent in the observation of these, and driving of their generall school-rules ever to the smallest actions of life; which while they dwell in their bookes they will never finde, but being seated in the countrey, and doing their duty faithfully, they will soon discover; especially if they carry their eyes ever open, and fix them on their charge, and not on their preferment. Secondly, for gluttony, the parson lays this ground—he that either for quantity eats more then his health or imployments will bear, or for quality is licorous[72] after dainties, is a glutton; as he that eats more then his estate will bear is a prodigall; and hee that eats offensively to the company, either in his order or length of eating, is scandalous[72] and uncharitable. These three rules generally comprehend the faults of eating, and the truth of them needs no proof; so that men must eat neither to the disturbance of their

health, nor of their affairs (which being over-burdened, or studying dainties too much, they cannot wel dispatch), nor of their estate, nor of their brethren. One act in these things is bad, but it is the custom and habit that names a glutton. Many think they are at more liberty then they are, as if they were masters of their health, and so they will stand to the pain,[73] all is well. But to eat to one's hurt comprehends, besides the hurt, an act against reason, because it is unnaturall to hurt oneself; and this they are not masters of. Yet of hurtfull things, I am more bound to abstain from those which by my own experience I have found hurtfull, then from those which by a common tradition and vulgar knowledge are reputed to be so. That which is said of hurtfull meats extends to hurtfull drinks also. As for the quantity, touching our imployments, none must eat so as to disable themselves from a fit discharging either of divine duties or duties of their calling. So that if after dinner they are not fit (or unweeldy) either to pray or work, they are gluttons. Not that all must presently work after dinner (for they rather must not work, especially students and those that are weakly); but that they must rise so as that it is not meate or drink that hinders them from working. To guide them in this there are three rules: first, the custome and knowledge of their own body, and what it can well digest; the second, the feeling of themselves in time of eating,

which because it is deceitfull (for one thinks in eating that he can eat more then afterwards he finds true); the third is the observation with what appetite they sit down. This last rule joyned with the first never fails; for knowing what one usually can digest, and feeling when I go to meat in what disposition I am, either hungry or not, according as I feele myself, either I take my wonted proportion, or diminish of it. Yet phisicians bid those that would live in health not keep an uniform diet, but to feed variously, now more, now lesse; and Gerson,[74] a spirituall man, wisheth all to incline rather to too much then to too little; his reason is, because diseases of exinanition[75] are more dangerous then diseases of repletion. But the parson distinguisheth according to his double aime, either of abstinence a morall vertue, or mortification a divine. When he deals with any that is heavy and carnall, he gives him those freer rules; but when he meets with a refined and heavenly disposition, he carryes them higher, even somtimes to a forgetting of themselves, knowing there is One Who, when they forget, remembers for them; as when the people hungered and thirsted after our Saviour's doctrine, and tarryed so long at it, that they would have fainted had they returned empty, He suffered it not; but rather made food miraculously, then suffered so good desires to miscarry.

Chap. XXVII.

The Parson in Mirth.

The countrey parson is generally sad,[76] because hee knows nothing but the Crosse of Christ, his minde being defixed[77] on and with those nailes wherewith his Master was; or if he have any leisure to look off from thence, he meets continually with two most sad spectacles, sin and misery; God dishonoured every day, and man afflicted. Neverthelesse, he somtimes refresheth himself, as knowing that nature will not bear everlasting droopings, and that pleasantnesse of disposition is a great key to do good; not onely because all men shun the company of perpetuall severity,[78] but also for that when they are in company, instructions seasoned with pleasantnesse both enter sooner and roote deeper. Wherefore he condescends to humane frailties both in himselfe and others, and intermingles some mirth in his discourses occasionally, according to the pulse of the hearer.

Chap. XXVIII.

The Parson in Contempt.

The countrey parson knows well, that both for the generall ignominy which is cast upon the profession, and much more for those rules which out of his choyest judgment hee hath resolved to observe, and

which are described in this book, he must be despised, because this hath been the portion of God his Master and of God's saints his brethren; and this is foretold that it shall be so still, until things be no more. Neverthelesse, according to the Apostle's rule, he endeavours that 'none shall despise him' [Titus ii. 15]; especially in his own parish he suffers it not to his utmost power, for that where contempt is there is no room for instruction. This he procures—first, by his holy and unblameable life, which carries a reverence with it even above contempt. Secondly, by a courteous carriage and winning behaviour; he that wil be respected must respect, doing kindnesses, but receiving none, at least of those who are apt to despise; for this argues a height and eminency of mind which is not easily despised, except it degenerate to pride. Thirdly, by a bold and impartial reproof even of the best in the parish, when occasion requires; for this may produce hatred in those that are reproved, but never contempt either in them or others. Lastly, if the contempt shall proceed so far as to do anything punishable by law, as contempt is apt to do if it be not thwarted, 'the parson, having a due respect both to the person and to the cause, referreth the whole matter to the examination and punishment of those which are in authority,' that so the sentence lighting upon one the example may reach to all. But if the contempt be not punishable by law, or being so, the parson think it in his discre-

tion either unfit or bootlesse[79] to contend, then when any despises him, he takes it either in an humble way, saying nothing at all; or else in a slighting way, shewing that reproaches touch him no more then a stone thrown against heaven, where he is and lives; or in a sad way,[80] grieved at his own and others' sins, which continually breake God's laws, and dishonour Him with those mouths which He continually fills and feeds; or else in a doctrinal way, saying to the contemner, 'Alas, why do you thus? You hurt yourselfe, not me; he that throws a stone at another hits himselfe;' and so between gentle reasoning and pitying he overcomes the evil; or lastly, in a triumphant way, being glad and joyfull that hee is made conformable to his Master, and being in the world as He was, hath this undoubted pledge of his salvation. These are the five shields wherewith the godly receive the darts of the wicked, leaving anger and retorting[81] and revenge to the children of the world, whom another's ill mastereth and leadeth captive without any resistance, even in resistance, to the same destruction. For while they resist the person that reviles, they resist not the evill which takes hold of them, and is farr the worst enemy.

Chap. XXIX.

The Parson with his Church-Wardens.

The countrey parson doth often, both publickly and privately, instruct his church-wardens what a great charge lyes upon them, and that, indeed, the whole order and discipline of the parish is put into their hands. If himselfe reform any thing, it is out of the overflowing of his conscience; whereas they are to do it by command and by oath. Neither hath the place its dignity from the ecclesiastical laws only, since even by the common statute-law they are taken for a kinde of corporation, as being persons enabled[82] by that name to take moveable goods or chattels, and to sue and to be sued at law concerning such goods for the use and profit of their parish; and by the same law they are to levy penalties for negligence in resorting to church, or for disorderly carriage in time of divine service. Wherefore the parson suffers not the place to be vilified or debased, by being cast on the lower ranke of people; but invites and urges the best unto it, shewing that they do not loose[83] or go lesse, but gaine by it, it being the greatest honour of this world to do God and His chosen service, or, as David says, to be even a door-keeper in the house of God. Now the canons being the church-warden's rule, the parson adviseth them to read or hear them read often, as also the visitation articles, which are grounded upon the

canons, that so they may know their duty and keep their oath the better; in which regard, considering the great consequence of their place, and more of their oath, he wisheth them by no means to spare any, though never so great; but if after gentle and neighbourly admonitions they still persist in ill, to present[84] them, yea, though they be tenants, or otherwise ingaged to the delinquent; for their obligation to God and their own soul is above any temporal tye. Do well and right, and let the world sink.[85]

Chap. XXX.

The Parson's Consideration of Providence.

The countrey parson, considering the great aptnesse countrey people have to think that all things come by a kind of natural course, and that if they sow and soyle[86] their grounds they must have corn, if they keep and fodder well their cattel they must have milk and calves; labours to reduce them to see God's hand in all things, and to beleeve that things are not set in such an inevitable order, but that God often changeth it according as He sees fit, either for reward or punishment. To this end he represents to his flock that God hath and exerciseth a threefold power in every thing which concernes man. The first is a sustaining power, the second a governing power, the third a spirituall power. By His sustaining power He pre-

serves and actuates every thing in his being, so that corne doth not grow by any other vertue then by that which He continually supplyes, as the corn needs it; without which supply the corne would instantly dry up, as a river would if the fountain were stopped. And it is observable, that if any thing could presume of an inevitable course and constancy in their operations, certainly it should be either the sun in heaven or the fire on earth, by reason of their fierce, strong, and violent natures; yet when God pleased the sun stood still, the fire burned not. By God's governing power He preserves and orders the references of things one to the other, so that though the corn do grow and be preserved in that act by His sustaining power, yet if He suite not other things to the growth, as seasons and weather, and other accidents, by His governing power, the fairest harvests come to nothing. And it is observable that God delights to have men feel and acknowledge and reverence His power, and therefore He often overturnes things when they are thought past danger; that is His time of interposing: as when a merchant hath a ship come home after many a storme which it hath escaped, He destroyes it sometimes in the very haven; or if the goods be housed, a fire hath broken forth and suddenly consumed them. Now this He doth that men should perpetuate and not break off their acts of dependance, how fair soever the opportunities present themselves. So that if a

farmer should depend upon God all the yeer, and being ready to put hand to sickle shall then secure himself, and think all cock-sure,[86] then God sends such weather as lays the corn and destroys it; or if he depend on God further, even till he imbarn[87] his corn, and then think all sure, God sends a fire and consumes all that he hath; for that he ought not to break off, but to continue his dependance on God, not onely before the corn is inned, but after also, and indeed to depend and fear continually. The third power is spirituall, by which God turnes all outward blessings to inward advantages. So that if a farmer hath both a faire harvest, and that also well inned and imbarned and continuing safe there, yet if God give him not the grace to use and utter this well, all his advantages are to his losse. Better were his corne burnt then not spiritually improved. And it is observable in this how God's goodnesse strives with man's refractorinesse: man would sit down at this world; God bids him sell it and purchase a better. Just as a father who hath in his hand an apple and a piece of gold under it; the child comes, and with pulling gets the apple out of his father's hand; his father bids him throw it away, and he will give him the gold for it; which the child utterly refusing, eats it, and is troubled with wormes. So is the carnall and wilfull man, with the worm of the grave in this world and the worm of conscience in the next.

Chap. XXXI.

The Parson in Liberty.

The countrey parson observing the manifold wiles of Satan, who playes his part sometimes in drawing God's servants from Him, sometimes in perplexing them in the service of God, stands fast in 'the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free' [Galatians v. 1]. This liberty he compasseth by one distinction, and that is of what is necessary and what is additionary. As for example: it is necessary that all Christians should pray twice a day, every day of the week, and four times on Sunday, if they be well. This is so necessary and essentiall to a Christian, that he cannot without this maintain himself in a Christian state. Besides this, the godly have ever added some houres of prayer, as at nine, or at three, or at midnight, or as they think fit and see cause, or rather as God's Spirit leads them. But these prayers are not necessary, but additionary. Now it so happens that the godly petitioner, upon some emergent interruption in the day or by oversleeping himself at night, omits his additionary prayer. Upon this his mind begins to be perplexed and troubled; and Satan, who knows the exigent,[88] blows the fire, endeavouring to disorder the Christian and put him out of his station, and to enlarge the perplexity until it spread, and taint his other duties of piety, which none can perform so well in

trouble as in calmness. Here the parson interposeth with his distinction, and shews the perplexed Christian that this prayer being additionary, not necessary, taken in, not commanded, the omission thereof upon just occasion ought by no means to trouble him. God knows the occasion as well as he, and He is as a gracious Father, who more accepts a common course of devotion then dislikes an occasional interruption. And of this he is so to assure himself as to admit no scruple, but to go on as cheerfully as if he had not been interrupted. By this it is evident that the distinction is of singular use and comfort, especially to pious minds, which are ever tender and delicate. But here there are two cautions to be added: first, that this interruption proceed not out of slacknes or coldness, which will appear if the pious soul foresee and prevent such interruptions, what he may, before they come, and when for all that they do come he be a little affected therewith, but not afflicted or troubled, if he resent it to a mislike,[88] but not a griefe; secondly, that this interruption proceede not out of shame. As for example: a godly man, not out of superstition, but of reverence to God's house, resolves, whenever he enters into a church, to kneel down and pray, either blessing God that He will be pleased to dwell among men, or beseeching Him that whenever he repairs to His house he may behave himself so as befits so great a presence, and this briefly. But it happens that neer

the place where he is to pray he spyes some scoffing ruffian, who is likely to deride him for his paines; if he now shall either for fear or shame break his custome, he shall do passing ill; so much the rather ought he to proceed, as that by this he may take into his prayer humiliation also. On the other side, if I am to visit the sick in haste, and my neerest way lie through the church,[89] I will not doubt to go without staying to pray there—but onely, as I pass, in my heart—because this kinde of prayer is additionary, not necessary, and the other duty overweighs it; so that if any scruple arise, I will throw it away, and be most confident that God is not displeased. This distinction may run through all Christian duties, and it is a great stay and setling to religious souls.

Chap. XXXII.

The Parson's Surveys.

The countrey parson hath not onely taken a particular survey of the faults of his own parish, but a generall also of the diseases of the time, that so, when his occasions carry him abroad or bring straugers to him, he may be the better armed to encounter them. The great and national sin of this Land he esteems to be idlenesse,[90] great in itselfe and great in consequence; for when men have nothing to do, then they fall to drink, to steal, to whore, to scoffe, to revile, to all

sorts of gamings. 'Come,' say they, 'we have nothing to do; let's go to the tavern, or to the stews, or what not.' Wherefore the parson strongly opposeth this sin wheresoever he goes. And because idleness is twofold, the one in having no calling, the other in walking carelessly in our calling, he first represents to every body the necessity of a vocation. The reason of this assertion is taken from the nature of man, wherein God hath placed two great instruments, reason in the soul and a hand in the body, as ingagements of working, so that even in Paradise man had a calling; and how much more out of Paradise, when the evills which he is now subject unto may be prevented or diverted by reasonable imployment! Besides, every gift or ability is a talent to be accounted for, and to be improved to our Master's advantage. Yet it is also a debt to our countrey to have a calling, and it concernes the commonwealth that none shall be idle, but all busied. Lastly, riches are the blessing of God, and the great instrument of doing admirable good; therefore all are to procure them honestly and seasonably when they are not better imployed. Now this reason crosseth not our Saviour's precept of selling what we have, because when we have sold all and given it to the poor we must not be idle, but labour to get more that we may give more, according to St. Paul's rule (Ephesians iv. 28, 1 Thessalonians iv. 11, 12); so that our Saviour's selling is so far from cross-

ing Saint Paul's working that it rather establisheth it, since they that have nothing are fittest to work. Now because the onely opposer to this doctrine is the gallant,[91] who is witty enough to abuse both others and himself, and who is ready to ask if he shall mend shoos or what he shall do, therefore the parson unmoved sheweth that ingenuous and fit employment is never wanting to those that seek it. But if it should be, the assertion stands thus: all are either to have a calling or prepare for it; he that hath or can have yet no imployment, if he truly and seriously prepare for it, he is safe and within bounds. Wherefore all are either presently to enter into a calling, if they be fit for it and it for them, or else to examine with care and advice what they are fittest for, and to prepare for that with all diligence. But it will not be amisse in this exceeding useful point to descend to particulars; for exactnesse lyes in particulars. Men are either single or marryed; the marryed and housekeeper hath his hands full, if he do what he ought to do. For there are two branches of his affaires: first, the improvement of his family, by bringing them up in the fear and nurture of the Lord; and secondly, the improvement of his grounds, by drowning,[92] or draining, or stocking, or fencing, and ordering his land to the best advantage both of himself and his neighbours. The Italian says, 'None fouls his hands in his own business;' and it is an honest and just care, so it ex-

ceed not bounds, for every one to imploy himself to the advancement of his affairs, that he may have wherewithall to do good. But his family is his best care, to labour Christian soules and raise them to their height, even to heaven; to dresse and prune them, and take as much joy in a straight-growing childe or servant as a gardiner doth in a choice tree. Could men finde out this delight, they would seldome be from home; whereas now, of any place they are least there. But if, after all this care well dispatched, the housekeeper's family be so small and his dexterity so great that he have leisure to look out, the village or parish which either he lives in or is near unto it is his imployment. Hee considers every one there, and either helps them in particular, or hath generall propositions to the whole towne or hamlet of advancing the publick stock, and managing commons or woods, according as the place suggests. But if hee may be of the commission of peace, there is nothing to that; no commonwealth in the world hath a braver institution then that of justices of the peace; for it is both a security to the king, who hath so many dispersed officers at his beck throughout the kingdome accountable for the publick good, and also an honourable imployment of a gentle or nobleman in the country he lives in, inabling him with power to do good, and to restrain all those who else might both trouble him and the whole State. Wherefore it behoves all who are come to the

gravitie and ripenesse of judgment for so excellent a place not to refuse, but rather to procure it. And whereas there are usually three objections made against the place—the one, the abuse of it, by taking petty-countrey-bribes; the other, the casting of it on mean persons, especially in some shires; and lastly, the trouble of it—these are so far from deterring any good man from the place, that they kindle them rather to redeem the dignity either from true faults or unjust aspersions. Now for single men, they are either heirs or younger brothers: the heirs are to prepare in all the fore-mentioned points against the time of their practice. Therefore they are to mark their father's discretion in ordering his house and affairs, and also elsewhere when they see any remarkable point of education or good husbandry, and to transplant it in time to his own home with the same care as others, when they meet with good fruit, get a graffe[93] of the tree, inriching their orchard and neglecting their house. Besides, they are to read books of law and justice, especially the statutes at large. As for better books of divinity, they are not in this consideration, because we are about a calling and a preparation thereunto. But chiefly, and above all things, they are to frequent sessions and assizes; for it is both an honor which they owe to the reverend judges and magistrates to attend them at least in their shire, and it is a great advantage to know the practice of the Land, for our

law is practice. Sometimes he may go to court, as the eminent place both of good and ill. At other times he is to travell over the king's dominions, cutting out the kingdome into portions, which every yeer he surveys peecemeal. When there is a Parliament, he is to endeavour by all means to be a knight or burgess there; for there is no school to a Parliament. And when he is there, he must not only be a morning man,[94] but at committees also; for there the particulars are exactly discussed, which are brought from thence to the House but in generall. When none of these occasions call him abroad, every morning that hee is at home hee must either ride the great horse[95] or exercise some of his military gestures.[96] For all gentlemen that are not weakned and disarmed with sedentary lives are to know the use of their arms; and as the husbandman labours for them, so must they fight for and defend them when occasion calls. This is the duty of each to other, which they ought to fulfill; and the parson is a lover and exciter to justice in all things, even as John the Baptist squared[97] out to every one, even to soldiers, what to do. As for younger brothers, those whom the parson finds loose and not engaged in some profession by their parents, whose neglect in this point is intolerable and a shamefull wrong both to the commonwealth and their own house —to them, after he hath shewd the unlawfulness of spending the day in dressing, complementing,[98] visit-

ing, and sporting, he first commends the study of the Civill Law, as a brave and wise knowledg, the professours whereof were much imployed by Queen Elizabeth, because it is the key of commerce and discovers the rules of forraine nations. Secondly, he commends the mathematicks, as the only wonder-working knowledg, and therefore requiring the best spirits. After the severall knowledge of these, he adviseth to insist and dwell chiefly on the two noble branches thereof of fortification and navigation; the one being usefull to all countreys, and the other especially to ilands. But if the young gallant think these courses dull and phlegmatick, where can he busie himself better then in those new Plantations[99] and discoveryes, which are not only a noble, but also, as they may be handled, a religious imployment?[100] Or let him travel into Germany and France, and, observing the artifices[101] and manufactures there, transplant them hither, as divers have done lately, to our countrey's advantage.

Chap. XXXIII.

The Parson's Library.

The countrey parson's library is a holy life; for besides the blessing that that brings upon it, there being a promise that if the kingdome of God be first sought, 'all other things shall be added' [St. Matthew vi. 33], even itselfe is a sermon. For the temptations

with which a good man is beset, and the ways which he used to overcome them, being told to another, whether in private conference or in the church, are a sermon. Hee that hath considered how to carry himself at table about his appetite, if he tell this to another, preacheth; and much more feelingly and judiciously then he writes his rules of temperance out of bookes;[102] so that the parson having studied and mastered all his lusts and affections within, and the whole army of temptations without, hath ever so many sermons ready penn'd as he hath victories. And it fares in this as it doth in physick; he that hath been sick of a consumption, and knows what recovered him, is a physitian, so far as he meetes with the same disease and temper, and can much better and particularly do it then he that is generally learned and was never sick. And if the same person had been sick of all diseases, and were recovered of all by things that he knew, there were no such physician as he, both for skill and tendernesse. Just so it is in divinity, and that not without manifest reason; for though the temptations may be diverse in divers Christians, yet the victory is alike in all, being by the self-same Spirit. Neither is this true onely in the military state[103] of a Christian life, but even in the peaceable also, when the servant of God, freed for a while from temptation, in a quiet sweetnesse seeks how to please his God. Thus the parson considering that repentance is the great vertue of the Gospel, and one of

the first steps of pleasing God, having for his owne use examined the nature of it, is able to explain it after to others. And particularly, having doubted sometimes whether his repentance were true, or at least in that degree it ought to be, since he found himselfe sometimes to weepe more for the losse of some temporall things then for offending God, he came at length to this resolution—that repentance is an act of the mind, not of the body, even as the original signifies ;[104] and that the chiefe thing which God in Scriptures requires is the heart and the spirit to worship Him in truth and spirit. Wherefore in case a Christian endeavour to weep, and cannot, since we are not masters of our bodies, this sufficeth. And consequently he found that the essence of repentance, that it may be alike in all God's children (which, as concerning weeping, it cannot be, some being of a more melting temper then others), consisteth in a true detestation of the soul, abhorring and renouncing sin, and turning unto God in truth of heart and newnesse of life ; which acts of repentance are and must be found in all God's servants. Not that weeping is not usefull, where it can be that so the body may joyn in the grief as it did in the sin ; but that so the other acts be, that is not necessary ; so that he as truly repents who performs the other acts of repentance, when he cannot more, as he that weeps a floud of tears. This instruction and comfort the parson getting for himself, when he tels it to others becomes a sermon.

The like he doth in other Christian vertues, as of faith and love and the cases of conscience belonging thereto, wherein, as Saint Paul implyes that he ought (Romans ii.), he first preacheth to himself, and then to others.

Chap. XXXIV.

The Parson's Dexterity in applying of Remedies.

The countrey parson knows that there is a double state of a Christian even in this life, the one military, the other peaceable. The military is when we are assaulted with temptations, either from within or from without. The peaceable is when the divill for a time leaves us, as he did our Saviour, and the angels minister to us their owne food, even joy and peace and comfort in the Holy Ghost. These two states were in our Saviour not only in the beginning of His preaching, but afterwards also; as Matt. xxii. 35, He was tempted; and Luke x. 21, He rejoyced in spirit; and they must be likewise in all that are His. Now the parson having a spirituall judgement, according as he discovers any of his flock to be in one or the other state, so he applies himselfe to them. Those that he findes in the peaceable state he adviseth to be very vigilant, and not to let go the raines as soon as the horse goes easie. Particularly he counselleth them to two things: first, to take heed lest their quiet betray them (as it is apt to do) to a coldnesse and a carelessnesse in their devo-

tions, but to labour still to be as fervent in Christian duties as they remember themselves were when affliction did blow the coals; secondly, not to take the full compasse and liberty of their peace; not to eate of all those dishes at table which even their present health otherwise admits, nor to store their house with all those furnitures which even their present plenty of wealth otherwise admits; nor when they are among them that are merry, to extend themselves to all that mirth which the present occasion of wit and company otherwise admits; but to put bounds and hoopes[105] to their joyes; so will they last the longer, and when they depart, returne the sooner. 'If we would judg ourselves, we should not be judged' [1 Cor. xi. 31]; and if we would bound ourselves, we should not be bounded. But if they shall fear that at such or such a time their peace and mirth have carryed them further then this moderation, then to take Job's admirable course, who sacrificed lest his children should have transgressed in their mirth: so let them go and find some poore afflicted soul, and there be bountifull and liberall; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased. Those that the parson finds in the military state he fortifyes and strengthens with his utmost skill. Now in those that are tempted, whatsoever is unruly falls upon two heads: either they think that there is none that can or will look after things, but all goes by chance or wit; or else, though there be a great Govern-

our of all things, yet to them He is lost, as if they said, 'God doth forsake and persecute them, and there is none to deliver them.' If the parson suspect the first, and find sparks of such thoughts now and then to break forth, then, without opposing directly (for disputation is no cure for atheisme), he scatters in his discourse three sorts of arguments, the first taken from nature, the second from the law, the third from grace. For nature, he sees not how a house could be either built without a builder, or kept in repaire without a housekeeper. He conceives not possibly how the windes should blow so much as they can, and the sea rage as much as it can, and all things do what they can, and all, not only without dissolution of the whole, but also of any part, by taking away so much as the usuall seasons of summer and winter, earing[106] and harvest. Let the weather be what it will, still we have bread, though sometimes more, somtimes lesse; wherewith also a carefull Joseph might meet.[107] He conceives not possibly how he that would believe a Divinity if he had been at the creation of all things should lesse beleeve it seeing the preservation of all things; for preservation is a creation; and more, it is a continued creation, and a creation every moment. Secondly, for the law, there may be so evident though unused a proof of Divinity taken from thence, that the atheist or Epicurean can have nothing to contradict. The Jewes yet live, and are known: they have their

law and language, bearing witnesse to them and they to it ; they are circumcised to this day, and expect the promises of the Scripture ; their countrey also is known, the places and rivers travelled unto and frequented by others, but to them an unpenetrable rock, an unaccessible desert. Wherefore if the Jewes live, all the great wonders of old live in them ; and then who can deny the stretched-out arme of a mighty God? especially since it may be a just doubt whether, considering the stubbornnesse of the nation, their living then in their countrey under so many miracles were a stranger thing then their present exile, and disability to live in their countrey. And it is observable that this very thing was intended by God, that the Jewes should be His proof and witnesses, as He calls them (Isaiah xliii. 12). And their very dispersion in all lands was intended not only for a punishment to them ; but for an exciting of others by their sight to the acknowledging of God and His power (Psalm lix. 11) ; and therefore this kind of punishment was chosen rather then any other. Thirdly, for grace. Besides the continuall succession (since the gospell) of holy men who have born witness to the truth (there being no reason why any should distrust Saint Luke, or Tertullian, or Chrysostome, more then Tully, Virgil, or Livy) there are two prophesies in the Gospel which evidently argue Christ's divinity by their success :[108] the one concerning the woman that spent the oyntment on our

Saviour, for which He told that it should never be forgotten, but with the Gospel itselfe be preached to all ages (Matthew xxvi. 13); the other concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, of which our Saviour said, that that generation should not passe till all were fulfilled (Luke xxi. 32); which Josephus his story confirmeth, and the continuance of which verdict is yet evident. To these might be added the preaching of the Gospel in all nations (Matthew xxiv. 14), which we see even miraculously effected in these new discoveryes, God turning men's covetousnesse and ambitions to the effecting of His word. Now a prophesie is a wonder sent to posterity, leest they complaine of want of wonders. It is a letter sealed and sent, which to the bearer is but paper, but to the receiver and opener is full of power. He that saw Christ open a blind man's eyes saw not more Divinity then he that reads the woman's oyntment in the Gospell or sees Jerusalem destroyed. With some of these heads enlarged and woven into his discourse at severall times and occasions, the parson setleth wavering minds. But if he sees them nearer desperation then atheisme, not so much doubting a God as that He is theirs,[109] then he dives into the boundlesse ocean of God's love, and the unspeakable riches of His loving-kindnesse. He hath one argument unanswerable. If God hate them, either He doth it as they are creatures, dust and ashes, or as they are sinfull. As creatures, He must needs love

them; for no perfect artist ever yet hated his owne worke. As sinfull, He must much more love them; because, notwithstanding His infinite hate of sin, His love overcame that hate, and with an exceeding great victory; which in the creation needed not, gave them love for love, even the Son of His love out of His bosome of love. So that man, which way soever he turnes, hath two pledges of God's love, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established—the one in his being, the other in his sinfull being; and this as the more faulty in him, so the more glorious in God. And all may certainly conclude that God loves them, till either they despise that love, or despaire of His mercy: not any sin else but is within His love; but the despising of love must needs be without it. The thrusting away of His arm makes us onely not embraced.

Chap. XXXV.

The Parson's Condescending.

The countrey parson is a lover of old customes, if they be good and harmlesse; and the rather because countrey people are much addicted to them, so that to favour them therein is to win their hearts, and to oppose them therein is to deject them. If there be any ill in the custome that may be severed from the good, he pares the apple, and gives them the clean to feed

on.[110] Particularly, he loves procession,[111] and maintains it, because there are contained therein 4 manifest advantages: first, a blessing of God for the fruits of the field; secondly, justice in the preservation of bounds; thirdly, charity in loving walking and neighbourly accompanying one another, with reconciling of differences at that time, if there be any; fourthly, mercy in releeving the poor by a liberall distribution and largesse, which at that time is or ought to be used. Wherefore he exacts of all to bee present at the perambulation, and those that withdraw and sever themselves from it he mislikes,[112] and reproves as uncharitable and unneighbourly; and if they will not reforme, presents[113] them. Nay, he is so farre from condemning such assemblies, that he rather procures them to be often, as knowing that absence breeds strangeness, but presence love. Now love is his business and aime; wherefore he likes well that his parish at good times invite one another to their houses, and he urgeth them to it; and somtimes, where he knowes there hath been or is a little difference, hee takes one of the parties, and goes with him to the other, and all dine or sup together. There is much preaching in this friendliness. Another old custome there is of saying, when light is brought in, 'God send us the light of heaven;' and the parson likes this very well; neither is he affraid of praising or praying to God at all times, but is rather glad of catching opportunities to do them. Light is a great blessing

and as great as food, for which we give thanks; and those that thinke this superstitious neither know superstition nor themselves. As for those that are ashamed to use this forme, as being old, and, obsolete, and not the fashion, he reformes and teaches them that at baptisme they professed not to be ashamed of Christ's cross, or for any shame to leave that which is good. He that is ashamed in small things will extend his pusillanimity to greater. Rather should a Christian souldier take such occasions to harden himselfe, and to further his exercises of mortification.

Chap. XXXVI.

The Parson blessing.

The countrey parson wonders that blessing the people is in so little use with his brethren; whereas he thinks it not onely a grave and reverend thing, but a beneficial also. Those who use it not do so either out of niceness, because they like the salutations and complements and formes of worldly language better—which conformity and fashionableness is so exceeding unbefitting a minister, that it deserves reproof, not refutation—or else, because they think it empty and superfluous. But that which the Apostles used so diligently in their writings, nay, which our Saviour Himselfe used (Marke x. 16), cannot bee vain and superfluous. But this was not proper to Christ or the

Apostles only, no more then to be a spirituall father was appropriated to them. And if temporall fathers blesse their children, how much more may and ought spirituall fathers! Besides, the priests of the Old Testament were commanded to blesse the people, and the forme thereof is prescribed (Numbers vi. [22-27]). Now as the Apostle argues in another case, if the ministration of condemnation did bless, 'how shall not the ministration of the Spirit exceed in blessing?' [2 Cor. iii. 8.] The fruit of this blessing good Hannah found and received with great joy (1 Samuel i. 18), though it came from a man disallowed by God; for it was not the person, but priesthood, that blessed; so that even ill priests may bless.[114] Neither have the ministers power of blessing only, but also of cursing. So in the Old Testament, Elisha cursed the children (2 Kings ii. 24), which, though our Saviour reproved as unfitting for His particular, Who was to show all humility before His passion, yet He allows it in His Apostles. And therefore St. Peter used that fearful imprecation to Simon Magus (Acts viii. [20-21]), 'Thy mony perish with thee;' and the event confirmed it. So did St. Paul (2 Timothy iv. 14 and 1 Timothy i. 20). Speaking of Alexander the coppersmith, who had withstood his preaching, 'The Lord,' saith he, 'reward him according to his works' [2 Timothy iv. 14]. And again, of Hymeneus and Alexander he saith he had 'delivered them to Satan, that they might learn not

to blaspheme.' The formes both of blessing and cursing are expounded in the Common Prayer-book: the one in 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ,' &c., and 'The peace of God,' &c.; the other in generall in the Commination.[115] Now blessing differs from prayer in assurance, because it is not performed by way of request, but of confidence and power, effectually applying God's favour to the blessed, by the interesting of that dignity wherewith God hath invested the priest, and ingaging of God's own power and institution for a blessing. The neglect of this duty in ministers themselves hath made the people also neglect it; so that they are so far from craving this benefit from their ghostly father, that they oftentimes goe out of church before he hath blessed them. In the time of Popery, the priest's Benedicite and his holy water were overhighly valued; and now we are fallen to the clean contrary, even from superstition to coldnes and atheism. But the parson first values the gift in himself, and then teacheth his parish to value it. And it is observable that if a minister talke with a great man in the ordinary course of complementing language, he shall be esteemed as ordinary complementers; but if he often interpose a blessing, when the other gives him just opportunity, by speaking any good, this unusuall form begets a reverence, and makes him esteemed according to his profession. The same is to be observed in writing letters also. To conclude, if all men are to

blesse upon occasion, as appears Romans xii. 14, how much more those who are spiritual fathers !

Chap. XXXVII.

Concerning Detraction.[116]

The countrey parson perceiving that most, when they are at leasure, make others' faults their entertainment and discourse, and that even some good men think, so they speak truth, they may disclose another's fault, finds it somwhat difficult how to proceed in this point. For if he absolutely shut up men's mouths, and forbid all disclosing of faults, many an evill may not only be, but also spread in his parish, without any remedy (which cannot be applyed without notice), to the dishonor of God and the infection of his flock, and the discomfort, discredit, and hinderance of the pastor. On the other side, if it be unlawful to open faults, no benefit or advantage can make it lawfull; for 'we must not do evill that good may come of it' [Romans iii. 8]. Now the parson taking this point to task, which is so exceeding useful, and hath taken so deep roote that it seems the very life and substance of conversation, hath proceeded thus far in the discussing of it. Faults are either notorious or private. Again, notorious faults are either such as are made known by common fame (and of these, those that know them may talk, so they do it not with sport, but commiseration), or else such

as have passed judgment, and been corrected either by whipping or imprisoning or the like. Of these also men may talk, and more—they may discover them to those that know them not; because infamy is a part of the sentence against malefactours, which the Law intends, as is evident by those which are branded for rogues that they may be known, or put into the stocks that they may be looked upon. But some may say, though the Law allow this, the Gospel doth not, which hath so much advanced charity, and ranked backbiters among the generation of the wicked [Romans i. 30]. But this is easily answered: as the executioner is not uncharitable that takes away the life of the condemned, except, besides his office, he add a tincture of private malice, in the joy and haste of acting his part, so neither is he that defames him whom the Law would have defamed, except he also do it out of rancour. For in infamy all are executioners, and the Law gives a malefactour to all to be defamed. And as malefactors may lose and forfeit their goods or life, so may they their good name, and the possession thereof, which before their offence and judgment they had in all men's brests; for all are honest till the contrary be proved. Besides, it concerns the common-wealth that rogues should be known, and charity to the publick hath the precedence of private charity. So that it is so far from being a fault to discover such offenders, that it is a duty rather which may do much good and save much

harme. Neverthelesse, if the punished delinquent shall be much troubled for his sins, and turn quite another man, doubtlesse then also men's affections and words must turne, and forbear to speak of that which even God Himself hath forgotten.[117]

The Authour's Prayer before Sermon.

O Almighty and ever-living Lord God, Majesty and Power and Brightnesse and Glory, how shall we dare to appear before Thy face, who are contrary to Thee in all we call Thee? for we are darknesse and weaknesse and filthinesse and shame. Misery and sin fill our days; yet art Thou our Creatour, and we Thy work. Thy hands both made us, and also made us lords of all Thy creatures; giving us one world in ourselves, and another to serve us:[118] then didst Thou place us in Paradise, and wert proceeding still on in Thy favours, untill we interrupted Thy counsels, disappointed Thy purposes, and sold our God, our glorious, our gracious God, for an apple. O, write it; O, brand it in our foreheads for ever: for an apple once we lost our God, and still lose Him for no more—for money, for meat, for diet. But Thou, Lord, art patience and pity and sweetnesse and love; therefore we sons of men are not consumed. Thou hast exalted Thy mercy above all things, and hast made our salvation, not our punishment, Thy glory; so that then where sin abounded, not death, but grace superabounded: ac-

cordingly when we had sinned beyond any help in heaven or earth, then Thou saidst, 'Lo, I come!' then did the Lord of life, unable of Himselfe to die, contrive to do it. He took flesh, He wept, He died; for His enemies He died; even for those that derided Him then, and still despise Him. Blessed Saviour! many waters could not quench Thy love, nor no pit overwhelme it. But though the streams of Thy blood were currant through darknesse, grave, and hell, yet by these Thy conflicts and seemingly hazards didst Thou arise triumphant, and therein mad'st us victorious.

Neither doth Thy love yet stay here; for this word of Thy rich peace and reconciliation Thou hast committed, not to thunder or angels, but to silly[119] and sinful men, even to me, pardoning my sins, and bidding me go feed the people of Thy love.

Blessed be the God of heaven and earth, Who onely doth wondrous things. Awake, therefore, my lute and my viol; awake, all my powers, to glorify Thee. We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we magnifie Thee for ever; and now, O Lord, in the power of Thy victories, and in the wayes of Thy ordinances, and in the truth of Thy love, lo, we stand here, beseeching Thee to blesse Thy word wherever spoken this day throughout the universall Church. O, make it a word of power and peace, to convert those who are not yet Thine, and to confirme those that are; particularly blesse it in this Thy own kingdom, which Thou hast made

a Land of light, a storehouse of Thy treasures and mercies. O, let not our foolish and unworthy hearts rob us of the continuance of this Thy sweet love; but pardon our sins, and perfect what Thou hast begun. Ride on, Lord, because of the word of truth and meeknesse and righteousnesse, 'and Thy right hand shall teach Thee terrible things' [Psalm xlv. 4]. Especially blesse this portion here assembled together, with Thy unworthy servant speaking unto them. Lord Jesu, teach Thou me, that I may teach them; sanctifie and inable[120] all my powers, that in their full strength they may deliver Thy message reverently, readily, faithfully, and fruitfully. O, make Thy word a swift word, passing from the ear to the heart, from the heart to the life and conversation; that as the rain returns not empty, so neither may Thy word, but accomplish that for which it is given. O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, hearken; and do so for Thy blessed Son's sake, in Whose sweet and pleasing words we say, 'Our Father,' &c.

Prayer after Sermon.

Blessed be God and the Father of all mercy, Who continueth to pour His benefits upon us. Thou hast elected us, Thou hast called us, Thou hast justified us, sanctified and glorified us; Thou wast born for us, and Thou livedst and diedst for us; Thou hast given us the blessings of this life and of a better. O Lord, Thy blessings hang in clusters, they come trooping upon

us, they break forth like mighty waters on every side. And now, Lord, Thou hast fed us with the bread of life; so man did eat angels' food. O Lord, bless it; O Lord, make it health and strength unto us; still striving and prospering so long within us, untill our obedience reach Thy measure of Thy love, Who hast done for us as much as may be. Grant this, dear Father, for Thy Son's sake, our only Saviour, to Whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost, three Persons but one most glorious incomprehensible God, be ascribed all honour, and glory, and praise, ever. Amen.

APPENDIX A.

A prefatory view of the life and vertues of the authour, and excellencies of this book.[1]

To the Christian, more designedly to the clergy-reader of the same time and rank and mind, and in like condition with the epistler, grace, &c. and recovery and profit by the ensuing tract.

My poor and dear Brother,—Do not expect, I humbly beseech thee, the high and glorious titles of 'companion in tribulation and in the patience of Jesus,' &c. [Revelation i. 9]. I could most willingly, if I thought that I could truely, give thee them, knowing that what lustre I cast upon thee would, by rebound, lite[2] upon myself. But my mouth is stopped; let God be true, and the justice of God be justified.

1. The reading of those piercing Scriptures, 1 Sam. chap. ii. and iii., Jer. xxiii., Ezek. iii. and xxxiii., Hos. iv., Mal. ii. 2. The view of this ensuing tract, which, mee thinks, is not a book of 37 chapters, but a bill of seven times 37 indictments against thee and me; a strange *speculum sacerdotale* in its discovery, me thinks, something resembling the secret of the holy Urim; as if this good Bezaleel had invented a living pure looking-glasse, in most exact proportions of beauty, that should both present itself as a body of unblemished perfections and shew all the beholder's deformities at once; that should shew thee both Aaron in the Holy of Holyes before the Mercy-seat, in all his pure ornaments, and Hophni or Phineas, ravening for their fees of flesh and wallowing in their lust at the door of the tabernacle. 3. The reflecting on common conversation in the day of our prosperity, and the paraleling the book of mine own conscience with the author's book (in both which I finde myself, not to say thee, written highly defective in every duty the good

man commends, and not a little peccant[3] in every particular taxed by him). These three have convinced, and even enforced me to confesse, that I am sure mine and, I fear, thy sufferings are not the meer sufferings of pure and perfect martyrs, but of grievous transgressors; not only under the rods of God's just judgment, but the scorpions of His heavy displeasure, fierce wrath, and sore indignation; not only from the smoaking of God's jealousie or the sparks of His anger, but the flames of His furnace (heat seven times more then ever), yea, even from the furiousnesse of the wrath of God (Psalm lxxviii. 50).

God's sinking the gates, His destroying the wals, His slighting the strongholds of Zion, His polluting the kingdom, His swallowing the palaces, His cutting off the horn of Israel; God's hating our feasts, His abominating our Sabboths, His loathing our solemnities (Esa. i.). God's forgetting His footstool, His abhorring His sanctuary, His casting off His altar, are, to me, signes that the glory of God is departed to the mountain (Ezek. xi. 23), that God hath in the indignation of His anger despised the king and the priest (Lam. ii.). It must be acknowledged sure that the hand of God hath gone out against us more then against others of our rank at other times; at least, that God hath not restrained violence against us, so as He did that against those of our profession in the dayes of old: the portion of the Egyptian priests that served the oxe, the ape, and the onion, escaped sale in time of the famine. Learned Junius (in his Academia, chap. iv.) sayes that the Philistines spared the schooles of the prophets in their warrs with Israel; and that the Phœnicians, Caldeans, and Indians were tender over such places. Thus then did God restraine the spirits of princes; yet that God (Who in His own law, Lev. xxv. 32, gave the Levits a special priviledg of redeeming lands, sold by themselves, at any time, when other tribes were limited to a set time) hath not stayed the madnesse of the people against us, but that our portions are sold unto others without redemption.

We must acknowledg that God's word hath taken hold of us (Zec. i. 5). That the Lord hath devised a device against us, hath watched upon the evil, and brought it upon us; for under the whole heaven hath not been done as hath been done upon Jerusalem (Dan. ix. 14).

Let us not flatter ourselves presumptuously. The punishment answers the sin as the wax the seal, and as the mould

owns the figure; and let us own both. It is very dangerous to blesse ourselves too boldly; God hath cursed our blessings (Mal. ii. 2). And that He may blesse to us our very curses, let us take with us words and say, 'To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses and multiplyed pardons; to us shame and confusion, as at this day' [Daniel ix. 7]. The most compendious way to get what belongs to God is to take to ourselves what belongs to us. If we would judge ourselves, and every man, knowing the plague of his own heart, lay God's dealing to heart, and accepting of our punishment, give glory to God, and humble ourselves under His mighty hand, then shall God exalt us and accept us, and take away our reproach.

If we shall confesse our sins, that, like Simeon and Levi, we have been brethren in evil, have broken the covenant of Levi, have done violence to and been partial in the Law, have made ourselves vile, and therefore are justly by God made contemptible and base before the people (Mal. ii.). If we shall confesse that we neither understood nor valued our high and holy calling as Christians, much lesse as ministers of Christ; that we did not thrive kindly when Providence had planted and watered us in those horns of oyl, the two Universities; or removed us into countrey cures, we did not fructifie (as this book will show) in any proportion to His encouragements, and therfore are justly cashiered out of His service and stript of His rewards, 'God is faithfull and just to forgive us' [1 John i. 9]; for (Job xxxiii. 27) He looks upon men. If any say, 'I have sinned, I have perverted that which was right, and it profited me not,' He will deliver his soul from the pit, his life shall see the light.

And now let none think that this confession will give advantage to the adversary. They may take where none is given; they may say, 'Let the Lord be glorified' [Psalm xxxv. 27]. By their own confession 'we offend not, though we devour them, because they have sinned against the Lord, the habitation of Justice' (Jer. l. 7). But they will finde at last that to forsake the Levite is a sin; that it is a bitter thing to 'help forward affliction' when 'God is but a little displeased;' that Jerusalem will be a cup of trembling and a burdensome stone to every one that cryes but 'Downe with it!' Woe to thee, O Assur, 'the rod of God's anger;' the staffe in thine hand is God's indignation. Thou, Lord, hast ordained him for judgment, and established him for correction—even for our correc-

tion, to purifie us sons of Levi from our drosse. Howbeit, Hee meaneth not so, and by His hand, Who punisheth us not onely for that which is sin, to put on us martyrs' robes; by that contrivance both chastning and covering our sins; as the Persians use their nobles, beating their clothes and saving their persons.

There can be no credit lost by giving glory to God. Did Achan lose anything by confessing that God had found him out, and his garment and his wedg? Hath not Adonibezek got a fame of ingenuity for acknowledging God's art of justicing, in that most exact way of counter passion or retaliation, which is so frequent in these times, though it is not considerd? What lost Luther by confessing his personall defects as to God, though he yeilded not a jot in his cause as to men? What enemy ever upbraided that to him? or this to the ingenuous learned Cajetan, his humble and seasonable confession upon lasting record in his coments on the 13th vers of the 5 chapter of Saint Matthew's Gospel, 'Ye are the salt; if the salt have lost,' &c.? The French army had taken Rome when he was about that text, and offered great abuse to the clergy there. Which he Christianly resenting, inserts this passage, 'We prelates of the Church of Rome do at this time finde this truth verified on us in a speciall measure, being by the just judgment of God become a spoyle and a prey and captives, not to infidells, but to Christians; because wee, who were chosen to be the salt of the earth—*evanuimus*—were become light persons, and unsavoury, good for nothing but outward ceremonies, and *externa bona*, the revenues temporall. Hence it is that both we and this city be trodden under foot this sixth of May 1527.' And that excellent Charls the Fifth is honourable for no one thing more then for acknowledging the hand of God upon him, both at that pinch which made him pant out, '*Jam me ab omnibus desertum video*,' and upon a lesser occcasion then that; namely, when his domesticks had left him all alone late at night, and he would needs hold the candle to Seldius, shewing him the way down the stairs and up to God, he said: 'Thine eys have seen me environed with great armies; now thou seest me abandoned of mine ordinary servants. I acknowledge this change to come from Him with Whom is no shadow of change —from the mighty hand of God—and I will by no means withstand it.' And it is reported that the Scottish presbyters, sensible of God's hand upon them, are at this time making their addresses to God, by confession of their sins respec-

tively;[4] God grant that both we and they may do it right. Though I shall still strive with them about the justice of the First Cause; yet about the justness of our persons will I not strive with them, nor about any other matter, save only who shall confess themselves greater sinners to God. I have silenced[5] David (Psalm li.), and Ezra and Nehemiah and Daniel in their 9 chap., and cited onely these to confirm myself and thee, brother, in this duty of giving glory to God in this manner, '*Et confiteantur Tibi omnes populi.*' Even so, true and righteous are Thy judgments in all the world, O Lord God Almighty; yea, mercifull are they, and far below our deservings.

I hope no man will think, though I speak thus, that I give him leave to construe my words mathematically, as if there was not an atom or hair of a good man or man of God in our Church. There were divers primitive (and are at this day; blessed be God! the Lord make them 1000 times more then they are) holy and heavenly souls, vessels chosen and fitted for the service of the sanctuary. I shall be bold to instance in three, who died in peace; few considering (some did) that they were taken away from the evil to come, lest their eys should see (what their spirits foresaw) what is come on us, on whom the days, not of visitation only, but of vengeance, even the ends of the world are come.

The first of these was Thomas Jackson, D.D., late President of Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford, and sometimes Vicar of St. Nicholas Church in Newcastle upon Tyne, two places that must give account to God for the good they had or might have had by that man, as all scholers must for his neglected works.[6]

The second was Mr. Nicholas Ferrer, of Little Gidding in Huntingtonshire, sometimes Fellow Commoner and Fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge.[7]

The third was the author of this book, Master George Herbert, Fellow of Trinity Colledge, Orator of the University of Cambridge, and Rector of Bemerton in Wiltshire. All three holy in their lives, eminent in their gifts, signall Protestants for their religion, painfull [=painstaking] in their severall stations, pretious in their deaths, and sweet in their memories.

First, I will give thee a briefe of some confrontments[8] common to them all, and then some of their, at least this author's, proper excellencies apart.

1. They all had that inseparable lot and signe of Christ and

Christians (Isa. viii. 18, Heb. ii. 13, Luke ii. 34). To be signes of contradiction or spoken against; men wondred at and rated at by the world. Doctor Jackson in two particulars suffered much. 1. He had like to have been sore shent[9] by the Parliament in the year 1628, for tenets in divinity, I cannot say so far driven by him as by some men now they are with great applause. His approach to unity was very near. 'Grant me,' saith he, 'but these two things, that God has a true freedom in doing good and man a true freedome in doing evill, there needs be no other controversy betwixt the opposites in point of providence and predestination' (Attrib. Ep. Ded.). 2. He had an adversary in England who writ a book against him, with a title not so kindly as might have been devised. It was this: 'A Discovery of Dr. Jackson's Follies;'[10] which he bound as an ornament upon him, as Job says; that is, never answered but in the language of the lamb dumb before the shearer, silence, and sufferance. And he had one in Scotland who also girded[11] at him without cause or answer.

And for Mr. Ferrar, he was so exercised with contradictions, as no man that lived so private as he desired to doe could possibly be more. I have heard him say, valuing, not resenting, his owne sufferings in this kind, that to fry a faggot was not more martyrdome than continuall obloquy. He was torn asunder as with mad horses, or crushed betwixt the upper and under millstone of contrary reports, that he was a Papist, and that he was a Puritan. What is, if this be not, to be sawn asunder as Esay, stoned as Jeremy, made a drum, or tympanised,[12] as other saints of God were? and after his death, when by injunction which he laid upon his friends when he lay on his deathbed a great company of comedies, tragedies, love hymns, heroical poems, &c., were burnt upon his grave, as utter enemies to Christian principles and practices (that was his brand), some poor people said he was a conjurer.[12]

And for our authour (the sweet singer of 'The Temple'), though he was one of the most prudent and accomplish'd men of his time, I have heard sober men censure him as a man that did not manage his brave parts to his best advantage and preferment, but lost himself in an humble way. That was the phrase, I well remember it.

The second thing wherin all three agreed was a singular sincerity in imbracing and transcendent dexterity in defending the Protestant religion established in the Church of England.

I speak it in the presence of God, I have not read so hearty vigorous a champion against Rome amongst our writers of his rank sò convincing and demonstrative as Dr. Jackson is. I blesse God for the confirmation which he hath given me in the Christian religion against the atheist, Jew, and Socinian, and in the Protestant against Rome. As also, by what I have seen in manuscript of Mr. Ferrar's, and heard by relation of his travels over the westerne parts of Christendome; in which his exquisite carriage, his rare parts and abilities of understanding and languages, his moralls more perfect then the best, did tempt the adversaries to tempt him, and marke him for a prize,[14] if they could compasse him. And opportunity they had to do this, in a sicknesse that seized on him at Padua, where mighty care was had by physicians and others to recover his bodily health, with designe to infect his soul. But neither did their physick nor poyson work any change in his religion, but rather inflamed him with a holy zeale to revenge their charity, by transplanting their waste and misplaced zeal (as they were all three admirable in separating from the vile what was precious in every sect or person under heaven) to adorn our Protestant religion, by a right renouncing the world with all its profits and honours, in a true crucifying the flesh with all its pleasures, by continued temperance, fasting, and watching unto prayers. In all which exercises, as he far outwent the choicest of their retired men, so did he far undervalue these deeds, rating them much below such prices as they set upon them. Upon this designe hee help'd to put out Lessius,[15] and to stir up us ministers to be painfull in that excellent labour of the Lord, catechizing, feeding the lambs of Christ; he translated a piece of Lud. Carbo, wherein Carbo confesseth that the hereticks (*i. e.* Protestants) had got much advantage by catechizing; but the authority[16] at Cambridge suffered not that Egyptian jewell to be published.

And he that reads Mr. Herbert's poems attendingly, shall finde not onely the excellencies of Scripture divinitie and choice passages of the Fathers bound up in metre, but the doctrine of Rome alſo finely and strongly confuted, as in the poems To Saints and Angels, The British Church, Church Militant, &c.[17]

Thus stood they in aspect to Rome and her children on the left hand. As for our brethren that erred on the right hand, Doctor Jackson speaks for himself, and Mr. F., though he ever honoured their persons, that were pious and learned, and always

spoke of them with much Christian respect, yet would hee bewaile their mistakes, which, like mists, led them in some points back again to those errors of Rome which they had forsaken. To instance in one: he that sayes preaching in the pulpit is absolutely necessary to salvation fals into two Romish errours: 1. that the Scripture is too dark; 2. that it is insufficient to save a man; and perhaps a third, advancing the man of Rome more then they intend him, I am sure. But the chiefe aime of Master F. and this authour was to win those that disliked our Liturgy, Catechisme, &c., by the constant, reverent, and holy use of them; which surely had we all imitated, having first imprinted the vertue of these prayers in our own hearts, and then studied with passionate and affectionate celebration, for voyce, gesture, &c., as in God's presence, to imprint them in the minds of the people, as this book teaches, our prayers had been generally as well beloved as they were scorned. And for my part I am apt to think, that our prayers stood so long was a favour by God granted us at the prayers of these men, who prayed for these prayers as well as in them; and that they fell so soon was a punishment of our negligence and other sins, who had not taught even those that liked them well to use them aright; but that the good old woman would absolve, though not so loud, yet as confidently as the minister himselfe.

Lastly, the blessed Three in One did make these three men agree in one point more. That one Spirit, which divides to every man gifts as He pleases, seems to me to have dropt upon these three elect vessels all of them some unction or tincture of the spirit of prophecy. Shall I say I hope or fear Mr. Herbert's lines, page 190, should be verified?

'Religion stands one tipto in our land, *on*
Ready to passe to the American strand.
When height of malice and prodigious lusts,
Impudent sinnings,[18] witchcrafts, and distrusts—
The markes of future bane—shall fill our cup
Unto the brim, and make our measure up;
When Sein shall swallow Tyber, and the Thames,
By letting in them both, pollutes her streams;
When Italy of us shall have her will,
And all her kalendar of sins fulfill,
Whereby one may foretell what sins next year *
Shall both in France and England domineer,—
Then shall religion to America flee;
They have their times of Gospel even as we.
My God, Thou dost prepare for them a way,
By carrying first their gold from them away;
For gold and grace did never yet agree,
Religion always sides with poverty.

> We think we rob them, but we think amisse;
> We are more poor and they more rich by this.
> Thou wilt revenge their quarrell, making grace
> To pay our debts, and leave our ancient place
> To go to them; while that which now their nation
> But lends to us shall be our disolation.' [vol. ii. p. 11-12.]

I pray God he may prove a true prophet for poor America, not against poor England. Ride on, most mighty Jesu, because of the word of truth. Thy Gospel is a light big enough for them and us; but leave us not. The people of Thine holiness have possessed it but a little while (Isaiah lxiii. 15, &c.).

When some farmers, neer the place where Master Ferrer lived, somewhat before these times, desired longer leases to be made them, he intimated that seven yeares would be long enough, troublous times were coming; they might thank God if they enjoyed them so long in peace.

But considering the accustomed modesty of Dr. Jackson in speaking of things not certain, I much admire that strange appendix to his sermons, partly delivered before the king, about the signes of the times, printed in the year 1637,[19] touching the great tempest of wind which fell out upon the eve of the fifth of November 1636.[20] He was much astonished at it, and what apprehension he had of it appeares by these words of his: 'This mighty wind was more then a signe of the time, *tempus ipsum admonebat;* the very time itselfe was a signe, and interprets this messenger's voice better then a linguist, as well as the prophets, were any now, could do.' Both wind and time teach us that truth often mentioned in these meditations. Thus much the reader may understand, that though we of this kingdom were in firm league with all the nations of the earth, yet it is still in God's power, we may fear in His purpose, to plague this kingdome by His owne immediate hand, by this messenger or by like tempests, more grievously then He hath done at any time, by the famine, sword, or pestilence, to bury many living souls, as well of superiour as inferiour rank, in the ruins of their stately houses or meaner cottages, &c.

And what shall be thought of that which fell from his pen in his epistle-dedicatory of his attributes, written November 20, 1627, and printed 1628 in these words or more? 'If any maintain that all things were so decreed by God before the creation, that nothing since could have fallen out otherwise then it hath done, that nothing can be amended that is amisse, I desire leave to oppugne his opinion not onely as an errour, but as an

ignorance, involving enmity to the sweet providence of God, as a forerunner of ruin to flourishing States and kingdoms, where it grows common or comes to full height.'

Was this a conjecture of prudence? or a censure of the physicall influence? or of the meritorious effect of these tenets? or rather a prediction of an event? Let the reader judg.

In these they did agree; the sequell will shew wherein they differed.

This authour, Mr. G. Herbert, was extracted out of a generous, noble, and ancient family; his father was Richard Herbert, of Blache-hall, in Mountgomery, Esq., descended from the great Sir Richard Herbert in Edward the Fourth's time; and so his relation to the noble family of that name well known. His mother was daughter of Sir Richard Newport of Arcoll, who doubtlesse was a pious daughter, she was so good and godly a mother; she had ten children, Job's number, and Job's distinction, seven sons, for whose education she went and dwelt in the University to recompense the losse of their father, by giving them two mothers.[21] And this great care of hers, this good son of hers studied to improve and requite, as is seen in those many Latin and Greek verses, the obsequious 'Parentalia' he made and printed in her memory; which, though they be good, very good, yet, to speak freely even of this man I so much honour, they be dull or dead in comparison of his 'Temple' poems. And no marvel: to write those he made his ink with water of Helicon, but these inspirations propheticall were distilled from above; in those are weak motions of nature, in these raptures of grace. In those he writ flesh and blood, a fraile earthly woman, though a mother; but in these he praysed his Heavenly Father, the God of men and angels, and the Lord Jesus Christ his Master; for so, to quicken himself in duties and to cut off all depending on man, whose breath is in his nosthrils, hee used ordinarily to call our Saviour.

I forget not where I left him; he did thrive so well there, that he was first chosen Fellow of the colledge, and afterward Oratour of the University. The memorials of him left in the orator's book shew how he discharged the place; and himself intimates, that whereas his birth and spirit prompted him to martiall achievements—the way that takes the town—and not to sit simpring over a book, God did often melt his spirit and entice him with academick honor to be content to wear and wrap up himself in a gown so long, till he durst not put it off

nor retire to any other calling.[22] However, probably he might, I have heard, as other orators, have had a secretary of state's place.

But the good man, like a genuine son of Levi—I had like to have said Melchisedeck—balked all secular wayes; saw neither father nor mother, child nor brother, birth nor friends, save in Christ Jesus; chose the Lord for his portion and His service for employment. And he knew full well what he did when he recived Holy Orders, as appears by every page in this book, and by the poems call'd Priesthood and Aaron, and by this unparalell'd vigilancy which he used over his parish, which made him, sayes that modest authour of the epistle before his poems, N. F., who knew him well, a peer to the primitive saints, and more then a pattern to his own age.

Besides his parsonage he had also a prebend in the church of Lincoln, which I think, because he lived far from, and so could not attend the duty of that place, he would faine have resigned to Master Ferrer, and often earnestly sued him to discharge him of it; but Master F. wholly refused, and diverted or directed his charity, as I take it, to the re-edifying of the ruined church of Leighton, where the corps[22] of the prebend lay. So that the Church of England owes to him, besides what good may come by this book towards the repair of us church-men in point of morals, the reparation of a church materiall and erection of that costly piece of Mosaick or Solomonick work, 'The Temple,' which flourishes and stands inviolate when our other magnificences are desolate and despised.

These things I have said are high, but yet there is one thing which I admire above all the rest; the right managing of the fraternall duty of reproof is, methinks, one of the most difficult offices of Christian prudence. O Lord, what is then the ministeriall? To do it as wee should is likely to anger a whole world of waspes, to set fire on the earth. This, I have conjectured, was that which made many holy men leave the world and live in wildernesses—which, by the way, was not counted by ancients an act of perfection, but of cowardise and poor spiritednesse—of flight to shade and shelter, not of fight in dust and blood and heat of the day. This authour had not only got the courage to do this, but the art of doing this aright.

There was not a man in his way (be he of what ranke he would) that spoke awry (in order to God) but he wip'd his mouth with a modest, grave, and Christian reproof. This was

heroicall; adequate to that royall law, 'Thou shalt in any case reprove thy brother, and not suffer sin upon him' [Lev. xix. 17]. And that he did this, I have heard from true reporters, and thou mayst see he had learned it himselfe, else he never had taught it us, as he does in divers passages of this book.

His singular dexterity in sweetning this art thou mayst see in the garb and phrase of his writing. Like a wise master builder, he has set about a forme of speech, transferred it in a figure, as if he was all the while learning from another man's mouth or pen, and not teaching any. And whereas we all of us deserved the sharpnesse of reproof, ἔλεγχε ἀποτόμως, he saith, he does this and he does that; whereas, poor men, we did no such thing. This dart of his, thus dipped, pierces the soul.

There is another thing (some will call it a paradox) which I learned from him and Mr. Ferrer in the managery of their most cordiall and Christian friendship. That this may be maintained in vigour and height without the ceremonies of visits and complements; yea, without any trade of secular courtesies, meerly in order to spirituall edification of one another in love. I know they loved each other most entirely, and their very souls cleaved together most intimately, and drove a large stock of Christian intelligence together long before their deaths; yet saw they not each other in many years —I think scarce ever—but as members of one Universitie, in their whole lives.

There is one thing more may be learn'd from these two (I may say these three) also: namely, that Christian charity will keep unity of souls amidst great differences of gifts and opinions. There was variation considerable in their indowments. Doctor Jackson had in his youth, as if he then had understood God's calling, laid his grounds carefully in arithmetick, grammar, philology, geometry, rhetorick, logick, philosophy, Orientall languages, histories, &c., yea, he had insight in heraldry and hieroglyphicks; hee made all these serve either as rubbish under the foundation, or as drudges and dry-labourers to theology. He was copious and definitive in controversies of all sorts. Master Ferrar was master of the western tongues, yet cared not for criticismes and curiosities. He was also very modest in points of controversie, and would scarce venture to opine even in the points wherein the world censured[24] him pos-

sessed. Our authour was of a middle temper betwixt, or a compound of both these, yet having rather more of Master Ferrer in him. And to what he had of him he added the art of divine poesie and other polite learning, which so commended him to persons most eminent in their time, that Doctor Donne inscribed to him a paper of Latine verses in print; and the Lord Bacon, having translated some psalmes into English meetre, sent them with a dedication prefixed, 'To his very good friend, Master George Herbert,' thinking that he had kept a true decorum in chusing one so fit for the argument in respect of divinity and poesy (the one as the matter, the other as the stile), that a better choice he could not make.

In sum, to distinguish them by better resemblances out of the Old and New Testament and antiquity, methinks Doctor J. has somewhat like the spirit of Jeremy, Saint James, and Salvian; Master Herbert, like David and other psalm-men, Saint John, and Prudentius; Master F. like Esay, Saint Luke, and Saint Chrysostome; yet in this diversity had they such an harmony of souls as was admirable. For instance, in one who differ'd in some points from them all, yet in him they so agreed all, as that Master F., out of a great liking of the man, translated him into English, Master Herbert commented on him and commended him to use, and Doctor J. allowed him for the presse—it was Valdesso's '110 Considerations.'

It would swell this preface too much to set down the severall excellencies of our authour. His conscientious expence of time, which he even measured by the pulse, that native watch God has set in every of us; his eminent temperance and frugality (the two best purveiors for his liberality and beneficence); his private fastings, his mortification of the body; his extemporary exercises thereof at the sight or visit of a charnell house, where every bone, before the day, rises up in judgment against fleshly lust and pride; at the stroke of a passing bell, when ancient charity used, said he, to run to church and assist the dying Christian with prayers and tears (for sure that was the ground of that custome); and at all occasions he could lay hold of possibly, which he sought with the same diligence that others shun and shift them; besides his careful, not scrupulous, observation of appointed fasts, Lents, and Embers: the neglect and defect of this last, he said, had such influx on the children which the Fathers of the Church did beget at such times as malignant stars are said to have over naturall produc-

tions; children of such parents, as be[25] fasting and prayers, being like Isaac and Jacob and Samuel, most likely to become children of the promise, wrestlers with God, and fittest to wear a linnen ephod. And with this fasting he imp'd his prayers, both private and publick. His private must be left to God, Who saw them in secret; his publick were the morning and evening sacrifice of the Church Liturgy, which he used with consciencious devotion, not of custome, but serious judgement, knowing—1. That the sophism used to make people hate them was a solid reason to make men of understanding love them; namely, because taken out of the Masse-book; taken out, but as gold from drosse, the precious from the vile. The wise Reformers knew Rome would cry 'Schism, schism!' and therefore they kept all they could lawfully keep, being loth to give offence; as our blessed Saviour, being loth to offend the Jews at the great Reformation, kept divers old elements, and made them new sacraments and services, as their frequent washings He turned into one Baptisme; some service of the Passeover into the Lord's Supper. 2. That the homelinesse and coursenesse, which also was objected, was a great commendation. The lambes poor of the flock are forty for one grounded Christian; proportionable must be the care of the Church to provide milk, that is, plain and easy nourishment for them. And so had our Church done, hoping that stronger Christians, as they abounded in gifts, so they had such a store of the grace of charity as for their weak brethren's sakes to be content therewith.

He thought also that a set liturgy was of great use in respect of those without, whether erring Christians or unbelieving men. That when we had used our best arguments against their errours or unbelief, we might show them a form wherein we did, and desired they would serve Almighty God with us; that we might be able to say, 'This is our Church, here would we land you.' Thus we believe, see the Creed. Thus we pray, baptize, catechise, celebrate the Eucharist, marry, bury, intreat the sick, &c.

These, besides unity and other accessary benefits, he thought grounds sufficient to bear him out in this practise; wherein he ended his life, calling for the church prayers awhile before his death, saying, 'None to them, none to them,' at once both commending them, and his soul to God in them, immediately before his dissolution, as some martyrs did—Mr. Hullier[26] by

name, Vicar of Babram, burnt to death in Cambridge; who, having the Common Prayer-book in his hand instead of a censor, and using the prayers as incense, offered up himselfe as a whole burnt sacrifice to God, with whom the very book itself suffered martyrdome, when, fallen out of his consumed hands, it was by the executioner's thrown into the fire and burnt as an hereticall book.

He was, moreover, so great a lover of church-musick, that he usually called it heaven upon earth, and attended it a few days before his death. But above all, his chief delight was in the holy Scriptures, one leafe whereof he professed he would not part with, though he might have the whole world in exchange. That was his wisdome, his comfort, his joy; out of that he took his motto, 'Lesse than the least of all God's mercies.' In that he found that substance Christ, and in Christ remission of sins; yea, in His blood he placed the goodnesse of his good works. 'It is a good work,' said he of building a church, 'if it be sprinkled with the blood of Christ.'

This high esteem of the Word of life, as it wrought in himselfe a wondrous expression of high reverence whenever he either read it himselfe or heard others read it, so it made him equally wonder that those which pretended such extraordinary love to Christ Jesus, as many did, could possibly give such leave and liberty to themselves as to hear that Word, that shall judge us at the last day, without any the least expression of that holy feare and trembling which they ought to charge upon their souls in private, and in publick to imprint upon others.

Thus have I with my foul hands soiled this and the other fair pieces, and worn out thy patience; yet have I not so much as with one dash of a pensill offered to describe that person of his, which afforded so unusuall a contesseration[27] of elegancies and set of rarities to the beholder; nor said I any thing of his personall relation, as a husband to a loving and vertuous lady, as a kinsman, master, &c. Yet will I not conceal his spirituall love and care of servants; teaching masters this duty—to allow their servants daily time wherein to pray privately, and to enjoyne them to do it; holding this for true generally, that publick prayer alone to such persons is no prayer at all.

I have given thee onely these lineaments of his mind, and thou mayst fully serve thyselfe of this book in what vertue of his thy soul longeth after. His practice it was, and his cha-

racter it is, his as author and his as object; yet, lo, the humility of this gracious man, he had small esteem of this book, and but very little of his poems. Though God had magnified him with extraordinary gifts, yet said he, 'God has broken into my study and taken off my chariot wheels; I have nothing worthy of God.' And even this lowlinesse in his own eyes doth more advance their worth and his vertues.

I have done when I have besought the reverend fathers, some cathedrall, ecclesiasticall, and academicall men (which ranks the modest authour meddles not with), to draw idæas for their severall orders respectively. Why should papists, as Timpius,[28] be more carefull or painfull in this kind then we? If it do no other good, yet will it help on in the way of repentance by discovery of former mistakes or neglects, which is the greatest, if not the onely, good that can now probably be hoped for out of this tract; which, being writ nigh twenty years since, will be less subject to misconstruction. The good Lord prosper it according to the pious intent of the authour and hearty wishes of the prefacer, who confesses himselfe unworthy to carry out the dung of God's sacrifices.

APPENDIX B.

A preface to the Christian reader, consisting of six paragraphs.[29]

§ 1. My design in this preface to this impression is: first, to own that which I made to the first, that came forth anno Domini 1652, and to bless God for giving me that portion of ingenuitie to imitate Ezra the scribe, Nehemiah the governor, and Daniel the prophet, by giving God the glorie of His justice in bringing upon us those evils which we then suffred, and that degree of courage in that day when violence was at the height, to tell the instruments of crueltie, the immediate causes of those evils, that God had also rods in store for them, and that from the ruins of that Church they had pulled down an heavy stone would fall upon themselves and bruise them.

§ 2. Secondly, to do a piece of right, an office of justice to the good man that was possessor of the manuscript of this book, and transmitted it freely to the stationer who first printed it, meerly upon design to benefit the clergie, and in them the Church of England. He was Mr. Edmund Duncon,[30] Rector of Fryarn-Barnet, in the county of Middlesex, brother to Dr. Eleazar Duncon[31] and Mr. John Duncon,[32] two very learned and worthy persons, and great sufferers, who both died before the miracle of our happy restauration, and were happy in that they lived not to see such ostentation of sin and ingratitude as some since have made; as if they had been delivered from slavery under the tyrant, that they might with more liberty yield themselves servants to sin under the tyranny of Satan.

§ 3. Thirdly, to tell some of my thoughts for their good unto my younger conforming brethren; as for mine elder, dignitaries and our fathers in God, I look upon them as judges how I demean myself in this matter. I say, to tell them, first, what an halcyonian calm, a blessed time of peace, this Church of England had for many years, above all the Churches in the world besides (God grant that they may live to see the like); at the very Ακμη of which time, when the king, St. Charles of B. M.,[33] and the good Archbishop of Canterbury,[34] with others, were endeavouring to perfect the clergy in regularitie of life, uniformity of officiating, and all varietie of learning, then did schism, faction, and jealousie kindle that fire which destroyed both Church and State; and when they had done so, did cunningly cry out upon such who laboured most to quench it, as if those very men had been the only or the chief incendiaries. It is meet that the younger clerks be reminded of this, because a considerable number of them who be now admitted into H. Orders and inducted into livings were not born before the troubles broke forth, which was about the year 1638. These men, therefore, shall do well to acquaint themselves with the most exact and impartial histories of the last past forty years, wherein there have been the strangest revolutions that ever happened in England in such a space of time. This is requisite to enable them to teach the people of this land, where all things are forgotten, what use they ought to make of God's mercies before, of His judgments in the wars, and after them also; of the great plague in the year 1665; of the Dutch war in the same year and in the year 1672, &c.; and of His contending by fire

with the nation, when London, the representative of the whole kingdom, was burnt in the year 1666. And secondly, to tell them, what he that has but half an eye may easily foresee, that the effect of publishing this book will be in no mediocritie. It will do either exceeding great good to the clergie, or exceeding much prejudice. Much good, if it work so upon the clergie as effectually to perswade them to conform to that holy character delineated in the book, otherwise it will produce much prejudice, by framing so perfect an idea of a curate of souls in the minds of the layitie, and by erecting such a great expectation and desire that he who takes care of theirs be exactly such an one as this book has described, that if herein they be frustrated all will be sorry; some will murmur and rage, others will perhaps forsake their parish-church, if not the English; *Deus avertat!*

The portraiture of virtue in general display'd by eloquence is very amiable; but perfections proper to any of the three grand vocations, especially that of the clergie, daily attendants on the Holy One. The more accurately their characters be imprinted in the minds of others, the more despicable do they render the professors that want them; and the ordinary sort of people, which are the most, will wrest the defects of the man upon the profession, and, at the next remove, upon the best accomplished professors.

This consideration gives me the cue to insert here a most passionate request, which I tender to the younger clergy, by the mercies of God, by the meekness and gentleness of Christ, of Whose eternal priesthood they have a share, and by the preciousness of their own and others' souls committed to their charge, that they will seriously consider whether my last conjecture be not more than probable; if they think it so, there will be less need to intreat them to forecast or bethink themselves what a stock of learning and prudence the occasions of these times, conference with sectaries and disputation with papists, will require; what a habit of gravitie in attire and of retiredness in conversation is necessary to make a clergyman exemplary[35] to the loose and vain conversation of these days; what an adult degree of virtue and godliness it must be that must withstand the incursion of profaneness in this age. And there will not be so much need to beseech them to buy Fathers, Councils, and other good classic books; to mortify the flesh with study, fasting, and prayer, and to do every thing becoming

a curate of souls, using this book as a looking-glass to inform them what is decent.

§ 4. In this fourth paragraph I intend an address to our nonconforming brethren; both to those that are out of parochial cures, and to those that, having benefices, conform with duplicitie of mind and do as little as they can. I beg leave to tell them, and desire them to believe that I do it in all sincere humilitie and charitie—

First, that all the clergie of mine acquaintance, and I verily believe all the old clergie of the nation, as well as my poor self and many of the younger, do long to see ourselves and our younger brethren conform to that idæa of a clerk which the noble holy Herbert hath pourtraied in this book.

Secondly, that what dissimilitude is found in the younger clergy is partly occasioned by that disturbance which the late wars made in the universities.

Thirdly, they therefore have the greatest reason imaginable to come in with speed, and join cordially in helping to repair those breaches in the Church which they first made, at which swarms of sectaries have entered in amongst us, and too many others have eloped out into the Church of Rome.

I do verily believe that the best amongst them would think it a rich blessing to see both Church and State in such condition as they were in before themselves moved towards a change. And if all the Presbyterians would first seriously reflect upon the issues of their attempts—the death of the king, the best of princes—of the Archbishop of Canterbury, of the Lords Strafford and Montross:[36] four persons most worthy to live, as Josephus says of those Jews whom the Zealots slew in Jerusalem—and all the blood spilt and treasure spent in the wars;

Secondly, upon the suddain total disappointment of their whole design;

Thirdly, upon the manifested falseness of that calumny cast upon the good old bishops and clergie, as if they meant to bring in Popery, for the increase of which the Presbyterians have given great opportunitie, though they did not intend it;

Fourthly, upon the sad corruption of manners that broke in upon the demolition of government;

Fifthly, upon the apostacie from the Church and violent inundation of sects;—methinks they should not think it enough to wipe their mouths and wash their hands, and say, 'We meant well; we intended the glory of God,' &c., but to bring forth

fruits meet for penitents; that is, because they made havock of the Church to labour more abundantly to repair it, and to do this with speed and in sinceritie.

§ 5. This fifth paragraph contains a friendly prosopopœia or apostrophe to T. B., the author of a book intituled 'The Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergie.'[37] If the author had subscribed his name, I might perhaps have said to him what I here write. Sir, I am sorry that that wit of yours is not under the conduct of more wisdom. You have reproved divers things worthy of reproof, but in a manner worthy to be reproved, *i.e.* scopticè, sarcasticè, with wit satirical, not with that gravitie wherewith such faults ought to be reproved; like one puffed up, and not like a mourner.

You have rightly pitch't upon two sluices that let into the Church men not rightly qualified: 1. Promiscuous admission into the Universities. 2. Indiscriminate or præproperous[38] ordinations, which latter is often but a consequent of the former; for after admission and twelve terms, a degree and letters testimonial do too usually follow of course. And the bishop will in charity construe the subscription of ten or twelve presbyters in a college æquivalent to the imposition of so many hands with him in ordination; except he do as Bishop Wren, L. B. of Ely, used most carefully to do, never accept a testimonial unless it did certifie that the subscribers thought the partie qualified for Holy Orders.[39]

I will suppose that you neither intended to give that offence which your book has given to divers eminent grave and learned men in both Universities, nor to yield that nutriment to prophaneness which your book hath done. For I hear by those that are sorry for it, that as some things in your book were matter of chatt in coffee-houses at C.[40] before it was printed, so now since it was printed they be matter of pastime in taverns at L.,[41] where wit and wine and prophaneness sport themselves in their own deceivings, and make the faults of God's ministers, for which all that fear God do grieve, the matter of unhallowed mirth. Sir, how could you write that discant upon our B. Saviour's words ['Weep not for Me'] without mingling your tears with your ink? Had you known the author[42] you would have pitied him. He was a man of great wit mixed with excess, of a fancy extended to his hurt.

One of your exceptions, *i.e.* povertie, is so far from being a ground of contempt, that it is a cause of commiseration and

honour, *ab extra*, *ab intra*, of comfort and joy. Aristotle says, 'He is the best artificer that can make the best shoe of that leather that is given him.' That minister that hath a poor living, and yet lives as well and does as much good as is possible to be done by any one that hath no better, shall have praise both of God and man. I have not observed any one thing, behither[43] vice, that hath occasioned so much contempt of the clergie as unwillingness to take or keep a poor living.

An holy man in a poor living is in a kingdom, if there be a kingdom of heaven upon earth, as I believe I know there is. It is a thesis that I dare undertake to make good against a Jesuit: *Status inopis parochi in Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ, est perfectior statu cujuslibet monachi in Ecclesiâ Romanâ.*

There be two main occasions of contempt which you take no notice of. The one external, and that is envie; a mighty engine, which sometimes casts hatred and instruments of death, sometimes bolts of scorn, upon men. *Laici sunt infensi clericis*, is a proverb that holds in the many. It daily feeds, partly upon the patrimonie of the Church, by God's wonderful providence restored to the clergie and rescued from those that had devoured it (and I do here, in the name of my brethren, acknowledge that for that mercy, and the mean profits of it, we are all accountable to God and man); partly upon the sedentary lives of churchmen, because they do not make tents as St. Paul did, nor hold the plow, thresh, or drive trades as themselves do, they think them idle persons.

The other occasion omitted by you, which also affords nourishment to envy, is the affectation of gallantrie, &c.

But your defect in assigning real grounds is recompensed with a great excess of instances in a long legend of clerks—*οἱ πολλοὶ καπηλεύοντες καὶ δολοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ*—some of which were dead nigh sixty years ago. I hope God has forgiven them; and I beseech Him to prevent the like in all that be alive. And I pray you consider what reputation he is like to gain, that in a Church having eight or nine thousand parishes, and perhaps as many clerks, or more, shall make it his business to ravel into sixty years backward, twenty of which were a miserable anarchie, and to collect the *imprudenter dicta* of young and weak preachers, to weed their books and make a composure loathsome to all good men, delightful only to such as make a mock of sin. Besides, you have imposed upon the reader, by charging the clergy of the Church of England with

those wild notions which were delivered by fanaticks, qualified neither with orders nor arts; as for instance (page 71, viz.), that the worm Jacob is a threshing worm, &c. It was delivered in Blackfryers Church, London, in the year 1654, by a fanatick mechanic, who at that time was one of Colonel Harrison's regiment, one of the late king's murtherers; this is attested by a person of qualitie, who then was an ear-witness.

Sir, by this time I hope you are willing to consider—1. Whether it had not been better to have thrown a cover of silence over all your instances. I will tell you a sad inconvenience that comes from the meer relation of the abuses of H. Scripture, made either by prophane wit or weak folly. They do Βασανίζειν every pious soul that hears or reads them. They infest the memory or phansie, and, as the fowls that came down upon Abram's sacrifice, by presenting themselves, trouble a man's mind whilst he is reading the Word of God, and should only attend to the pure meaning of the Spirit. Besides, one relation begets another, and so on; still they engender, till prophaneness become tradition. And therefore wise men make a conscience[44] of making rehearsal of witty applications that wrong the text.

2. Whether the event have not over-reacht your intent. The pretence of your book was to shew the occasions; your book is become an occasion of the contempt of God's ministers.

3. What service you have done, and what thanks you may expect from God, the Church, and State, if your book shall, by accident only, deter but one ingenuous youth, one hopeful gentleman, one noble man of good and great endowments, from entring into Holy Orders, the expedient appointed by God for saving souls.

But blessed be God, Who hath secured the honour of the function from being disparaged by the misdemeanours of men that officiate in it, or by the malignity of such as observe their failings, with design to revile them.

Though the vulgar ordinarily do not, yet the nobilitie and gentry do distinguish and abstract the errors of the man from the holy calling, and not think their dear relations degraded by receiving H. Orders.

He that would see a fair catalogue of ancient nobles, who were consecrated bishops well toward the primitive times of Christianity, let him read the epistle-dedicatory of the R. Dr. Cave his book intituled 'Primitive Christianitie;'[45] and

for our late and present times accept of that which here followeth.

I have read that Henry the 8th[46] was by his father designed to the archbishoprick of Cant. if his brother, Prince Arthur, had lived to succeed in the crown.

Dr. Mountague, who was Bishop of Winchester when I was young, was uncle to the Lord Chamberlain that last died, or at least nigh of kindred to his father, who, after he past thorough many honourable offices, died præsident of the king's most honourable privy council.

The old Earl of Westmorland[47] did dedicate one of his sons to God's service in the sanctuarie, and he became a good example of gravitie and pietie to those of that calling, and, for anything I know, is so till this day.

So did the old Lord Cameron,[48] father to Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, a son of his, who was first a regular and sober Fellow of Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge, and afterward Rector of Bolton Percy in Yorkshire, where he was sequestred, we may well conclude, for his good affection to God and the king, if his brother or nephew could not secure him.

There was a brother of the L. Gray's of Wark[49] in Cambridge in my time, who was very studious and virtuous, and after that entred into Holy Orders, and took a charge of souls upon him, and discharged it as became him.

The Rev. Dr. Gray,[50] Rector of Burbidge in the countie of Leicester, was Earl of Kent about the year of God 1640.

There be divers persons of noble extraction which have lately entred into Holy Orders, and are most worthily dignified and promoted in this Church.

One is the R. R. Dr. Henry Compton,[51] now Lord Bishop of Oxon, brother to the R. H. Earl of Northampton that now is, and son to that valiant earl who was slain in the high places of the field, fighting for his God and for his king, in the year 1643.

The R. Dr. Greenvill,[52] brother to the Right Honourable the Earl of Bath, is another.

The R. R. Dr. Crew,[53] clerk of the closet to his Majestie, now the R. R. Lord Bishop of Durham, and son to the R. H. Lord Crew, is another.

The R. Mr. John North,[54] late Fellow of Jesus College, and publick professor of the Greek tongue in the Universitie of Cambridge, and Prebendarie of Westminster, son to the R. H. the Lord North of Cartledge, is another.

The Rev. Dr. Brereton,[55] son to the late Lord Brereton of Brereton-green in Cheshire, is another.

My hopes that there be more—I pray God make them an hundredth times more—noble worthie persons entered into H. Orders, admonish me to beg pardon of all such whose name I have not pretermitted, but omitted only out of a mere negative ignorance, occasioned by my private condition.

These noble persons so excellently qualified with virtues, learning, and pietie, by bringing along with them into the Church the eminencie of their birth also, have cast a lustre upon the clergie, as greater stars help to brighten up their less shining neighbours, and have advanced their Christian priesthood to the height it was at under the law of nature, when it was the hereditary honour and prærogative of the firstborn of the chief familie to be the priest of the most high God.

And surely these noble persons have shew'd—and so with all the nobility that follow them shew—a twofold wisdom in their choice of this holy function: for first, the calling gives them better opportunities to get to heaven; and secondly, it gives them title to the good things of the earth—rectories, donatives, dignities, their portions in the Church's patrimonie which cannot miss them, being doubly so well qualified.

The advantage of doing God service which height of birth gives to a nobleman or gentleman over what a clerk of lower parentage hath is very considerable. The truth taught by them is sooner believed; a reproof bestow'd by them is better received; an example of virtue shew'd by them makes deeper impression than the same coming from one of meaner extraction would do. This observation I first made in those two great lights of our church, Dr. Fern,[56] Lord Bishop of Chester, who was a knight's son, and Dr. Hammond,[57] who was of an ancient family. And the reader will observe more in this book, whose author was a person nobly descended.

The wisdom of this land confirms this truth. Our laws give that privilege to higher birth which a man of meaner descent must stay and study and perform divers exercises for by the space of fourteen years. To be a knight's son born in wedlock is as good a qualification for some preferments as to be a bachelor in divinity.

The example and wisdom of these noble persons will save me the labour of beseeching the other nobilitie and gentrie of this kingdom: 1. To think the priesthood a function not un-

worthie of them or their relations; 2. to look upon the patrimonie of the Church as a good provision for their own dear children (as it is also for every mother's son of the commonaltie that is duly qualified); and 3. therefore, that it is not only an impious thing, because sacrilege, but also an impolitick deed, because destructive of the means of a man's own and his children's well-being, to wish or desire, much more to consent to or endeavour, the taking away of church means devoted to God for the maintenance of such as attend His service.

This address to the nobles has not made me forget T. B. I mean to take my leave of him in as friendly a manner as I begun;[58] and the rather because he intimates a wish that some augmentation of means might be made to the poor clergie—a thing that my soul desireth, and more, I intend to endeavour it when and wherever it lies in my power. If I had 10,000 pounds, I would give 9000 of it to that use. A thing which the cathedral church of Worcester hath carefully done; and I know not any cathedral that hath left it undone.

I know a prebendary of the c. church of York that refused 300*l.* fine for renewing a lease of an impropriation, and chose rather to settle half the clear profits of the tithes for an augmentation upon the vicar; and another, of another church, that hath setled a tithe that cost 350 pounds, with divers other instances of this kind.

He may see I have complyed with his wish. I entreat him to condescend to an earnest request of mine—that he would endeavour, if not to augment the means of the poor clergie, yet to recompence the injurie his book hath done them.

§ 6. But all this while do I not forget myself much, and the reader more? I will conclude this præface with a short description of a compleat clergyman.

He is a son, like Samuel, begged of God by his devout parents before he was begotten by them, and dedicated to serve God in His sanctuarie before he was born, upon præsupposal of shape and temper of body, of abilities and faculties of mind fit for that service, and these allowed for such by men of exquisite judgment; season'd in his infancie at home with pietie; at school, with arts; accomplished with sciences and degrees at the Universitie; prepared for Holy Orders by prayer and reading ('St. Chrysostom de Sacerdotio,' 'St. Gregorie's Pastoral,' and such other books as learned men shall direct); called by a bishop, or excited by a master of a college or some

grave divine to receive H. Orders; and when he is entred, he governs himself by the canons of the Church and best examples of the age. In sum, he imitates the author of 'The Temple' and of this book, 'The Priest to the Temple,' the holy Mr. George Herbert. To whom God assimilate the clergie, and amongst them the most unworthy

BARNABAS OLEY.

APPENDIX C.

An advertisement to the reader.

The first edition of this book came out in sad times (anno Domini 1652), when violence had gotten the upper hand: what here next follows was then thought meet to be the preface to it. Now the Almighty, Who changeth times and seasons, Himself abiding unchangeable, having for His own name's sake, and their sakes to whom the former preface was dedicated, who many of them were fervent intercessors for the same, wrought a wonderful deliverance, it is thought fit that it should withdraw and stand here behind the curtain, resigning that place to another, that may move the reader to thankfulness for that stupendious mercy; and to express it, as by all other possible testifications, so by making a right use of this book.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

[1] p. 122, 'hee shoots higher that threatens the moon,' &c. Cf. 'The Church Porch,' st. lvi.

[2] p. 123, 'revoking'=calling back.

[3] p. 123, 'the dignity,' &c. Cf. Walton's Life of Herbert, *ante*, pp. 31-2.

[4] p. 125, 'If it be objected that the poverty of some of the clergy forces them to suppress their sentiments in some things, and to suffer whatever an encroaching temper shall think fit to put upon them,—to this I answer: that the temptation to this sin ought to have been prevented before their going into Holy Orders; for those who cannot be supplied with a competent fortune by themselves, their relations, or at least by some creditable independent preferment, had much better choose some other inferior employment, than expose themselves to such apparent danger in this. And as for those (if there be any such) who do not discharge their office with that plainness and discreetly-managed resolution which God and the Church expects from them, it will not be improper to remind them of what Mr. Herbert hath written ("Country Parson"), where he tells us "that such persons wrong the priesthood, neglect their duty, and shall be so far from that which they seek by their over-submissiveness and cringing, that they shall ever be despised." Indeed, they have no reason to expect any better usage; for as flattery is deservedly accounted one of the most contemptible vices, so a clergyman, when he is guilty of it, is the worst of flatterers' (Jeremy Collier, Essays, third edition, 1698, p. 236).

[5] p. 126, 'travell'=travail.

[6] p. 127, 'I sate daily,' &c. Here and elsewhere I have filled in the references within brackets.

[7] p. 127, 'habitation:' cf. 'The Church Porch,' st. lxii.

[8] p. 130, 'composures'=gatherings or compilations.

[9] p. 131. Herbert writes in the temper of that age in which Bishop Taylor's great work, the 'Ductor Dubitantum, or

Guide of the Doubting,' appeared: but Heber has remarked: 'I have myself had sufficient experience of what are generally called scruples, to be convinced that the greater proportion of those which are submitted to a spiritual guide are nothing more than artifices by which men seek to gratify themselves in what they know to be wrong; and I am convinced that the most efficacious manner of easing a doubtful conscience is, for the most part, to recall the professed penitent from distinctions to generals, from the peculiarities of his private concerns to the simple words of the commandment. If we are too curious, we only muddy the stream; but the clearest truth is, in morals, always on the surface' ('Life of Taylor,' p. 269).

[10] p. 132, 'treatable:' the old form of tractable, Fr. traictable. It is used here in the sense of Fr. *traict* (drawn, pulled out), prolonged. In two of the examples given by Richardson it has the same meaning in sense of prolonged in time: 'for the Reformation was not advanced here, as in some forraign free states, suddenly,' &c. . . . 'not . . . suddenly (not to say rapidly) with popular violence, but leisurely and *treatably*, as became a matter of so great importance:' Fuller 'Worthies' . . . General; and Hooker, 'Eccl. Polity,' b. v. § 79.

[11] p. 132, 'strait'=straight.

[12] p. 133, 'hudling or slubbering:' hudling=disorderly haste; slubbering=slovenly.

[13] p. 133, 'pausably'=giving due pause between.

[14] p. 133, 'presented:' see note [57].

[15] p. 135, 'Hermogenes:' qu. the Rhetorician?

[16] p. 139, 'induce'=bring in.

[17] p. 143, 'experiment'=feel as tried on himself, much as we say, experience.

[18] p. 143, 'afore'=in presence of, our 'before.'

[19] p. 144, cf. Walton's Life of Herbert, *ante*, pp. 38-9.

[20] p. 145, 'happily:' many a poor clergyman might read this as a satire, but the word is only one of the old forms of 'haply.'

[21] p. 145, 'prentices:' later editions 'apprentices.'

[22] p. 145, 'is placed surer then if it were given to the *Chamber of London*.' 'The Chamber of London is the Treasury of the City of London, and was in ancient times the king's Treasury as well. It is so termed in the ancient charters and grants to the City of London. The seal of the office to this day is similar to that at the head of this paper; and it has

been in use in this department for very many centuries [a crown, a sword, two keys, a (conventional) lion: legend, 'Londini S. Cameræ']. The allusion in the extract from Herbert is obviously to the ancient custom of this city, called "Orphanage." By that custom, the estates of all freemen dying intestate vested in the Court of Mayor and Aldermen, who were, by the custom, guardians of the children. They fed, boarded, clothed, and educated them, and provided dowers for the daughters at marriage; set the sons up in business, and divided the estate when they attained their majority. The estate being realised, the proceeds were paid into the "Chamber of London," to the custody of the "Chamberlain," who is a corporation sole, for these purposes. He made use of the money for City purposes, allowing 4*l.* per cent interest to the estate for the same while it remained in his hands. As there were neither government securities nor banks in George Herbert's days, and the Bank of England had not been founded, the term "Chamber of London" would have the force of any expression of the present day implying undoubted security; and as the reference is to children left orphans, the passage, rightly understood, is full of force and meaning.

'A disaster happened with reference to the "Chamber of London" and the money therein deposited, by reason of the "closing of the exchequer" in the reign of Charles II., that monarch having borrowed the orphans' money and then "repudiated" (to use a modern term). This would, and in fact did, reduce the credit of the "Chamber," so that subsequent to the date of George Herbert the term would have a different signification; but as that divine died early in the reign of Charles I., the allusion to the "Chamber" must have implied *security*, it being the most secure place of deposit in that last-mentioned reign' (Letter of Benjamin Scott, Esq., Chamberlain of the City of London, to B. H. Beedham, Esq., *penes me*). Marvell lashed Charles II. for his part in above transactions. See our edition, vol. i. frequently. Shakespeare, in reference to the name of the city of London (Camera Regis, as above), says: 'Welcome, sweet prince, to London, to your chamber' ('Richard III.' iii. 1).

[23] p. 146, 'directenesse:' possibly a mere press error for 'directness.'

[24] p. 147, 'but an old good servant boards a child.' This was, perhaps, a proverbial saying. The use is peculiar, but can be understood if we look to the derivation of board, Fr.

bord, a side; border, to border. In fact the Fr. aborder=our nautical board, gives the meaning=approaches, draws along side of, ranks almost as a child of the house. See Poems, Vol. I. 267. Cf. also Herbert's Will, with its generous remembrance of his servants, Vol. I. Memorial-Introduction, *fin.*

[25] p. 147, 'back-side.' The following notes in our edition of HENRY VAUGHAN'S Works (vol. iv. pp. 338-9 *et alibi*) are equally needed here: 'How brave a prospect is a bright back-side!' ('Looking Back,' i. 219.) 'Mr. Lyte, offended by the now vulgarised, not to say scarce-to-be-named, meaning of "back-side," and in ignorance of its real meaning as used by Vaughan, thus changed his text (silently): "How brave a prospect is a *travers'd plain!*" So too the reprint of 1858.' The following, from Ben Jonson's 'Case is Altered,' is also quoted above in elucidation: '*Onion:* But if thou wilt go with me to her father's *back-side*, old Jacques' back-side, and speak for me to Rachel' (act iv. sc. 3). Then in sc. 4, Jacques being told by Rachel that there are some persons in the back-garden, cries in fear of robbery, 'How, in my back-side! where? What come they for? Where are they?' See also our VAUGHAN, ii. 117. Herbert's editors have also changed 'back-side' into 'yard.'

[26] p. 148, 'sowre herbs'=unpleasant, unsavoury, or bitter herbs. The phrase was common, and 'sour' was otherwise used in similar sense. But it is doubtful whether the 'bitter or sour herbs' were appointed to be used because of being bitter, or in order to their forming an unpleasant or unsavoury meal. Was it not the customary thing?

[27] p. 149, 'prepossessed'=first or previously possest.

[28] p. 149, 'rootes:' as potatoes, which first came to England in Herbert's youth.

[29] p. 149, 'exinanition:' see note [75].

[30] p. 150. Herbert brings out, says Willmott, with most serious beauty the caution in Shakespeare:

> 'But, good my brother,
> Do not, as some ungracious pastors do,
> Show me the steep and thorny way to heaven,
> Whilst, like a puft and careless libertine,
> Himself the primrose path of dalliance treads,
> And recks not his own reed.'

That is, does not regard his own doctrine.

[31] p. 150. Cf. Wordsworth ('Eccles. Sonnets,' xviii.):

> 'A genial hearth, a hospitable board,
> And a refined rusticity, where, his flock among,

The learned pastor dwells, their watchful lord,
Though meek and patient as a sheathèd sword.'

[32] p. 152, 'a hook of his charity:' see 'The Church Porch,' st. i. l. 4.

[33] p. 154, 'perfumed with incense.' In recollection of Isaiah lxvi. 3, it must be permitted us to protest against the use of 'incense' under the Gospel.

[34] p. 154, 'foolish anticks.' Without examples one can hardly judge what was meant. But query—is Herbert punning characteristically upon antic and antique—then often spelt alike—and alluding to the odd turns and twists of old-fashioned letters, unintelligible to country folk?

[35] p. 155, 'score'=mark, or as we say, chalk out the way.

[36] p. 157, 'labour profanely'=as the 'profane' or pagans.

[37] p. 159, 'miserable comparison'=unhappy (figuratively).

[38] p. 160, 'disaffected'=not affected; that is, not caring for or not well disposed or affected towards religion, &c. To 'affect' in the then English was to like or more than like, have a regard or affection for.

[39] p. 160. So Dr. Johnson: 'Sir, the life of a parson, of a conscientious clergyman, is not easy. I have always considered a clergyman as the father of a larger family than he is able to maintain' (Croker's 'Johnson,' vii. 152).

[40] p. 161, 'determine:' a law term often used at that time and by Shakespeare. Here it seems to mean authoritatively declare or give judgment as a judge.

[41] p. 163, 'censure'=matured thought, judgment: sometimes used also for mere opinion or superficial judgment.

[42] p. 163, 'suppling'=oiled words, that render a man supple or conformable, as oil does a bow, &c. See its use in Poems, Vol. I. p. 68; SOUTHWELL, *s.v.* &c.

[43] p. 163, 'that of mirth.' So it was a saying of Abp. Ussher: 'If good people would but make goodness agreeable, and smile instead of frowning in their virtue, how many they would win to the good cause!' (Willmott.)

[44] p. 164, 'set at an armour'=rated at an armour, or whatever he was bound to contribute towards the equipment of any force for the king's service. From Herbert's words it might be inferred that each rated person was bound to produce his armour or horse, &c., at certain times to show they had them, and in readiness and in good order.

[45] p. 164, 'respectively:' nearly=respectfully. See Poems, Vol. I. pp. 20, 256-7.

[46] p. 166, 'a tester'=testern or sixpence. The original price of the 'Country Parson' was two testers or twelve pence.

[47] p. 167. It is told by Nelson of Bishop Bull, that he was so earnest and successful in catechising his people, and lecturing the old by inviting them to be present at the instruction of the young, that to one visitation of the bishop he carried with him fifty well-instructed persons to be confirmed, out of a parish consisting of thirty families. See Works of Bull (Oxford edit.), i. 52.

[48] p. 168. 'It is a great error to think that the Catechism was made for children only; for all Christians are equally concerned in those saving truths which are there taught, and the doctrine delivered in the Catechism is as proper for the study and as necessary for the salvation of a great doctor as of a weak Christian or a young child' (Bishop Ken's Exposition, Prose Works (Round), p. 339).

[49] p. 169, 'silly:' not so much here in sense of positively silly as wanting in wisdom. Used much as ignorant, but with reference rather to the untrainedness of the faculties from lack of education than want of learning.

[50] p. 170, 'in vertue:' as we say now 'virtually,' *i.e. in virtute*, in its essence, though not outwardly shown.

[51] p. 171, 'in great confusion'=perturbation.

[52] p. 172, 'no vain or idle names:' the registers of our parish churches and books on names reveal many such. No chapter of the 'Curiosities of Literature' is more full of the oddities of thought and intention than that which might be given to our names and surnames. It remains to a great extent unwritten.

[53] p. 172.

> 'Pride lives with all; strange names our rustics give
> To helpless infants, that their own may live;
> Pleased to be known, they'll some attention claim,
> And find some by-way to the house of fame.
> "Why Lonicera wilt thou name thy child?"
> I asked the gardener's wife in accents mild;
> "We have a right," replied the sturdy dame;
> And Lonicera was the infant's name.'
>
> (Crabbe, the 'Parish Register,' pt. i.)

[54] p. 172, 'course'=coarse.

[55] p. 173, 'loosely and wildely' . . . 'puts up to an apostle:' 'loosely and wildely'=neither in set form nor sequence. 'Puts up to'=raises himself as to the dignity of apostleship.

[56] p. 174, 'afore:' see note [18].

[57] p. 174, 'present:' to bring an information against one, to lay before a court of judicature as an object of inquiry. So earlier.

[58] p. 174, 'their judg.' Cf. 'The Church Porch,' st. lxxii. l. i.

[59] p. 174, 'Dalton's Justice of Peace:' the first edition of Michael Dalton's 'Country Justice' was published in 1618; an edition (folio) was issued in 1746.

[60] p. 175, 'most gainfull way of conversation:' cf. 'The Church Porch,' st. l.

[61] p. 176, 'tickle:' in later editions changed to 'difficult.' Applied to anything in a dangerous or hazardous condition, so balanced that a touch may move it either way. Thus Shakespeare likens the groundlings or pittites to a gun-lock, whose sear or sere (a part of the mechanism between the trigger and the rest of the lock) is so touchy as—like a hair trigger—it can be set off by the slightest jar or touch ('Hamlet,' ii. 2). It is 'tickle' walking on the edge of a precipice or on a rope. Our present colloquial word is ticklish, as when it is said of a man betwixt life and death he is in a ticklish state.

[62] p. 176, 'anatomy'=a dissection of a human body. 'Fernelius:' John Francis Fernel, or Fernelius, the renowned physician of Henry II. of France. He died 1558. His name and books are still quick. They abound in curious out-of-the-way observations, and are packed full of actual facts.

[63] p. 177. Medicinal herbs: Parkinson's 'Theatr. Botan.' (1640) furnishes abundant curious lore on these medicinal herbs and flowers of Herbert. Thither the reader desirous to pursue the subject is referred. Suffice it here to note that the various 'plantains,' including the common plantain or waybread, were, as the readers of Shakespeare may remember, 'singular good wound herbs to heal fresh or old wounds and sores' ('Romeo and Jul.,' i. 2), and these either inward or outward, and various skin diseases. Further, that Bolearmena is=Bole Armenian or Armenian earth. John Parkinson, 'apothecary of London and the king's herbarist,' is a delightful companion for a leisurely week in the country. Over and over elucidations of Shakespeare and the Elizabethans present themselves in the most unlikely places. These scientific names of the less-known plants and flowers may be acceptable to some: Plaintain (genus Plantago), Shepherd's Purse (Capsella bursa pastoris), Knotgrass (Polygonum aviculare), Mercury (genus Mercurialis),

Adder's-tongue (Ranunculus linguæ), Verrow if Yarrow (Achillea millefolium), Melilot (Melilotus officinalis), St. John's Wort (various species of Hypericum), Camphrey (Symphytum officinale), Smallage (genus Akium), water parsley or wild water. The remainder are sufficiently familiar.

[64] p. 178. Medicinal flowers: see last note [63].

[65] p. 178, l. 8 from bottom, 'reduce'=bring back. P. 179, 'unmoved in arguing,' &c.: cf. 'The Church Porch,' st. lii.

[66] p. 180, 'consters'=construes—and so modernised in later editions.

[67] p. 181, 'know a sin evidently'=plainly and beyond possibility of doubt.

[68] p. 181, 'witty:' see Vol. I. p. 255, note on 'The Church Porch,' st. xl. l. 6.

[69] p. 181, 'observabled:' misprinted usually 'observable.' But possibly an original press error, arising from *d* of 'and.' Herbert would hardly have committed the solecism of framing a verb from an adjective in -able.

[70] p. 181, 'period'=end.

[71] p. 182, 'baned meat:' query—banned or forbidden meat? 'Baned' meat in Somersetshire means 'diseased' or rotten meat.

[72] p. 183, 'scandalous' and 'licorous:' 'scandalous'=giving cause for scandal. 'Licorous:' later editions 'lickerish.' Cf. Notes and Illustrations, Vol. I. pp. 19, 80, 107, 121, 256, 286.

[73] p. 184, 'pain'=penalty. Probably he includes 'pain' as well as pœna.

[74] p. 185, 'Gerson:' born 1363; died July 12, 1429.

[75] p. 185, 'exinanition:' Latin=emptying; used medically, as inanition now is for the state of body resulting from loss of food or of the due components of food, and thereby of the due components of the blood and tissues. See another example in note [29].

[76] p. 186, 'sad:' cf. Notes and Illustrations in Poems, Vol. I. pp. 19, 80, 107, 121, 256, 286.

[77] p. 186, 'defixed'=firmly fastened or infastened as with nails (Latin); here there is evidently a conceitful use of the word in reference to the Cross.

[78] p. 186, 'perpetuall severity:' see Poems, Vol. I. p. 240.

[79] p. 188, 'bootlesse'=useless, unavailing.

[80] p. 188, 'sad way:' see note [76].

[81] p. 188, 'retorting'=answering back, with a sub-reference

to 'backbiting' or speaking evil behind back, as well as personal 'evil-speaking' in anger.

[82] p. 189, 'enabled'=aided, qualified.

[83] p. 189, 'loose'=lose.

[84] p. 190, 'present:' see note [57].

[85] p. 190, 'Do well,' &c.: a reminiscence of *Fiat justitia, ruat cœlum.*

[86] p. 190-2, 'soyle' .... 'cock-sure.' 'Soyle'=to manure (Bailey, Ash). 'Cock-sure'='quite certain,' says Willmott, and dates from time of Skelton at least. Although cock is applied, I believe, only to the heap of mown hay, and not to that of cut corn, it is pretty clear from the whole context that Herbert had in view a sort of punning conceit.

[87] p. 192, 'imbarn'=in-barn.

[88] p. 193-4, 'exigent' .... 'mislike:' former a favourite word with the old Puritans, *e.g.* Thomas Brooks' 'Mute Christian .... Sovereign Antidotes against the most miserable *Exigents*' (1684). Cf. Shakespeare, 'Julius Cæsar,' v. 1; 'Antony and Cleopatra,' iv. 12. =our 'exigency.' 'To a mislike'=so far as.

[89] p. 195, 'neerest way lie through the church.' Herbert's own church immediately adjoining his parsonage no doubt furnished this 'case of conscience.'

[90] p. 195, 'idlenesse:' cf. 'The Church Porch,' st. xvi.-xvii.

[91] p. 197, 'the gallant:' the 'fop' or gentleman of fashion. Herbert would relish his friend Dean Donne's satiric portraitures of him. 'The Church Porch' is full of keen sarcasm in the same line.

[92] p. 197, 'drowning'=flooding.

[93] p. 199, 'graffe:' later editions spell 'graft'—merely variants.

[94] p. 200, 'a morning man:' that is one who merely attends the ordinary deliberations of the House. We now reverse the hours of Committee and of the House.

[95] p. 200, 'great horse:' 'destrier, a steed, a great horse, horse of service' (Cotgrave).

[96] p. 200, 'gestures:' later editions, 'postures.'

[97] p. 200, 'squared out:' accurately traced out and regulated, as a carpenter or mason squares his work with the instrument so called. Therefore by consequence=apportioned. See Poems, Vol. I. pp. 166, 306.

[98] p. 200, 'complementing:' cf. 'The Church Porch,' st. xiv.

[99] p. 201. There was a great charm for the poetical mind

in these regions. Cowley, writing in 1656, says in the Preface to his Poems, 'My desire has been for some years past (though the execution has been accidentally diverted), and does still vehemently continue, to retire myself to some of our American plantations, not to seek for gold, or enrich myself with the traffic of those parts (which is the end of most men that travel thither), but to forsake this world for ever, with all the vanities and vexations of it, and to bury myself there in some obscure retreat, but not without the consolation of letters and philosophy' (Willmott).

[100] p. 201, 'Plantations:' as of Virginia. William Crashaw, father of the Poet, preached a noble missionary sermon on the 'planting' of Virginia in particular, and of plantations in general. See our edition of Richard Crashaw, Memorial-Introduction and Essay. Crashaw argued strenuously for the 'religiousness' of such plantations.

[101] p. 201, 'artifices'=crafts or devices, in good sense; workmanship or arts as practised by the artifex, or fine and cunning workman.

[102] p. 202, 'then he writes'=than he [that] writes. But query, was 'then' a misprint for 'that'=in that he writes his rules out of other than books—out of experience, not by rote or tradition?

[103] 202, 'military'=militant, the Christian life being a warfare. Cf. Ephesians vi. 11-17.

[104] p. 203, 'the original signifies:' repent=Latin *re*, and pœniteo, from pœna, pain: Greek, ποινη.

[105] p. 205, 'hoopes:' cf. Notes and Illustrations in our Marvell, vol. iii. pp. 173, 313=relative notes on 'unhoopable,' p. 555.

[106] p. 206, '*earing*'=ploughing. Cf. Wright's 'Bible Word-Book,' *s.v.*

[107] p. 206, 'a carefull Joseph:' the reference is to Joseph's care in preparation for the famine.

[108] p. 207, 'success'=that which succeeded or followed.

[109] p. 208, 'as that He is theirs'=as [doubting] that He is theirs.

[110] p. 210, 'pares the apple:' cf. the use of this simile, though differently applied, in 'The Church Porch,' st. xi.

[111] p. 210, 'procession'=perambulation of the 'marches' or boundaries.

[112] p. 210, 'mislikes:' used as=he takes it ill of them, takes it of them in ill part.

[113] p. 210, 'presents:' see note [57].

[114] p. 212, 'so that even ill priests may bless:' very questionable inference and pseudo-sacramentarianism.

[115] p. 213, 'Commination'=curse or threatening.

[116] p. 214. See Barrow's 'Sermon on Detraction' (Works, i. 415), which he says 'may be couched in truth and clothed in fair language; it is a poison often infused in sweet liquor, and ministered in a golden cup.'

[117] p. 216. It may be interesting to read the 'Sketch of a Country Parish,' by John Norris, living in Herbert's parsonage, and having the villagers of Bemerton in his eye: 'Country people are much prouder than they used to be; and the lower you go, still the more pride you find. For even the poor are as proud in their way as any, and, for aught I know, the very proudest of all. For there are none that are more captious and exceptious, more nice and difficult, and that must be treated with more care, caution, and observance; none that are more easily offended or more hardly reconciled; that are more apt to take, or more backward to forgive, a slight or an affront, or so much as a neglect' (Norris, 'A Treatise concerning Humilitie,' 1707, p. 326). Cf. our first collection of the Poems of Norris in 'Miscellanies' of Fuller Worthies' Library.

[118] p. 216, The Author's Prayer: 'giving us one world,' &c. Cf. 64. Man, ll. 47-8, Vol. I. p. 104.

[119] p. 217, 'silly:' see note [49].

[120] p. 218, 'inable:' see note [82]. With reference to these prayers, they first appeared in Herbert's 'Remains' (1652). Mr. Yeowell doubted their genuineness on this ground: 'When it is remembered how punctiliously George Herbert walked according to canonical rule in small as in great matters, it seems highly improbable that he would use these two unauthorised prayers in divine service' ('N. & Q.' 2d s. iii. p. 88). Professor Mayor answered (ib. p. 120): 'Perhaps the "Prayers before and after Sermon" were intended for private [personal?] use. Or if not, I see nothing in "The Country Parson," or elsewhere, to prove that Herbert would scruple to use prayers of his own composition before and after sermon; and these prayers seem to be altogether in his tone.' Dr. Sibbes, Dr. Fuller, and many others had similar prayers.

NOTES TO APPENDICES.

[1] A prefatory view, &c. p. 220: this was prefixed to the first edition of 'The Country Parson' (1652).

[2] p. 220, 'lite:' later editions, 'light'—merely variants in spelling.

[3] p. 221, 'peccant'=corrupt.

[4] p. 224, 'respectively:' see note [45] to 'A Priest to the Temple.'

[5] p. 224, 'silenced'=kept silence on.

[6] p. 224, 'Thomas Jackson, D.D.:' born 1579; died 1640. His works were collected in three great folios in 1673, with life by Vaughan: a modern edition, 12 vols. 8vo (Oxford), 1844. Southey in recent times held Jackson in high honour.

[7] p. 224, 'Mr. Nicholas Ferrar:' see note to Walton's Life of Herbert, No. [46].

[8] p. 224, 'confrontments'=comparisons.

[9] p. 225, 'shent'=injured.

[10] p. 225, 'A Discovery of Mr. Jackson's Vanity' (1631, 4to) is one of several notable theological-polemical books of Dr. William Twisse, born 1575; died 1646. See charges against Jackson by Prynne and Burton in Wood, ii. 166.

[11] p. 225, 'one in Scotland,' &c. Perhaps (incidentally) in Samuel Rutherford's many controversial writings. Henry Burton wrote 'Exceptions against a Passage in Dr. Jackson's Treatise on the Divine Essence and Attributes' (1641, 4to). 'girded'=gibed, sneered.

[12] Oley seems to have been misinformed here. It was during Ferrar's lifetime the books were burned. See Professor Mayor's Ferrar, as before (pp. 57-9). On p. 228 also read 'ten' for 'seven'—the latter being an error (ibid. p. 59).

[13] p. 225, 'made a drum.' The Martyrologies show that men were flaed alive, and their skins made into the 'parchment' (?) covers of drums: tympanised, for L. *tympanum*, a drum.

[14] p. 226, 'marke him for a prize:' cf. 'The Church Porch,' st. i. l. 2.

[15] p. 226, 'put out Lessius'=publish. Lessius as translated (1636) contained Crashaw's daintily-worded poem, 'In praise of Lessius' Hygiasticon, or Rule of Health' (our edition of Cra-

SHAW'S Works, vol. i. pp. 209-12). Leonard Lessius was a learned Jesuit, born Oct. 1, 1554; died 15th Jan. 1623-4. He was Theological Professor at Louvain.

[16] p. 226, 'the authority:' viz. the Licenser of the Press. The license was obtained, but no 'imprimatur' appears in the poems. 'Egyptian jewel'=spoil from the Egyptians.

[17] p. 226, Poems: To Saints and Angels, No. 51, Vol. I. p. 87; The British Church, No. 81, ibid. p. 124; The Church Militant, Vol. II. pp. 1 *et seqq*.

[18] p. 227, 'sinnings:' later editions (*e.g.* Pickering and Bell & Daldy, &c.) oddly misprint 'singings.'

[19] p. 228, 'sermons:' see note [6] *supra*.

[20] p. 228, 'great tempest of wind:' Defoe collected many waifs and strays on great wind-storms. His work affords much curious reading.

[21] p. 229, 'two mothers:' *i.e.* herself and the University as *Alma Mater*.

[22] p. 230, Quotations: see 16. Affliction: Vol. I. pp. 53-4.

[23] p. 230, 'corps of the prebend'=property or possessions, *i.e.* 'body' of the prebend, and the related 'leases' on lives.

[24] p. 231, 'censured:'=judged—an excellent example of this use of the word.

[25] p. 233, 'be:' later editions, 'by.'

[26] p. 233, 'Mr. Hullier.' He is introduced into a poem by Thomas Bryce (Farr's 'Select Poetry, chiefly devotional, of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth,' 1845, vol. i. p. 166):

> 'APRYLL 1555.
> When Hulliarde, a pastour pure,
> At Cambridge did this life despise.'

He was Vicar of Babraham, Cambridgeshire, and being condemned for 'heresy' (so called), was burnt at Jesus-green, Cambridge, on 16th April 1555. He was constant and joyful to the last. See 'Athenæ Cantab.' vol. i. p. 126; 'Cooper's Annals of Cambridge,' ii. 103.

[27] p. 234, 'contesseration'=mosaic.

[28] p. 235, 'Timpius:' there is no such name in the 'Bibliotheca Catholica,' nor elsewhere, that I can trace. J. G. Tympe lived much later, 1699-1768.

[29] p. 235, A preface to the Christian Reader, &c. Originally printed with the second edition of 'A Priest to the Temple' (1671), and a little enlarged in the third edition (1675): our text is the latter.

[30] p. 236, 'Mr. Edmund Duncon.' This most loving friend of Herbert's was Rector of Friern Barnet. The date of his institution was in 1652; that of his successor was 1673. The following is the inscription (hitherto unprinted) on his gravestone:

'In M S Edm. Duncon non ita pridem Huivs Parochiae Rector
qui animam svam inspitanti reddidit An. Ætatis suae
septvagessimo secundo sal nostrae MDCLXXIII. Quarto Oct.
Dormit in hoc tumulo fidelis Pastor Iesus
Cuius Mors docuit Vivere, Vita Mori.
Posuit I. D.'

The stone is affixed to the wall of the east end of the old part of the church.

[31] p. 236, 'Dr. Eleazar Duncon.' His name occurs in Walker's folio as among the 'Sufferers,' and also in contemporary letters from abroad ('Notes and Queries,' *s.n.*).

[32] p. 236, 'Mr. John Duncon.' Unfortunately the Friern Barnet registers before 1674 have perished; but John also became rector of this 'living' on 20th November 1673. He died a few months later, his successor being appointed on his death, 27th February 1673-4. No doubt the I. D. of Edmund's memorial-stone was John Duncon.

[33] p. 236, 'St. Charles of B. M.'=Blessed Memory.

[34] p. 236, 'Archbishop of Canterbury'=Laud.

[35] p. 237, 'exemplary:' a noun=exemplar or example; but query—was it not originally written 'an exemplary'?

[36] p. 238, 'Strafford' . . . . 'Montross:' historic names. The former, born 1593; died May 12, 1641: the latter, born 1612; died May 21, 1650.

[37] p. 239, 'T. B., the author of a book intituled "The Grounds,"' &c. Though signed T. B., this well-known book belongs to John Eachard, D.D., Master of Katharine Hall and Vice-chancellor of Cambridge. An edition before me is dated 1670.

[38] p. 239, 'præproperous' (Latin)=overhasty, rash.

[39] p. 239, 'Wren:' Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, born 1585; died April 24, 1667.

[40] p. 239, C.=Cambridge.

[41] p. 239, L.=London.

[42] p. 239, 'the author.' Oley's silence on the name is not very much to be lamented.

[43] p. 240, 'behither vice'=on this side of. See Poems, Vol. I. pp. 49, 279.

[44] p. 241, 'make a conscience of making rehearsal:' a phrase=to our 'make it a matter of conscience not to rehearse;' so, make a conscience of swearing.

[45] p. 241, 'Dr. Cave:' born 1637; died August 4th, 1713. His 'Lives of the Apostles' and other compilations are still reprinted.

[46] p. 242, 'Henry VIII.' What an archbishop 'bluff Hal' should have made! The fact seems certain, *i. e.* of the paternal design. 'Dr. Mountague:' James Montagu, fifth son of Sir Edward Montagu of Boughton, county Northampton, and brother of Edward, first Earl of Manchester. He was the first Master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and became successively Dean of Lichfield, Dean of Worcester, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and finally in 1616 Bishop of Winchester. He died at Greenwich 20th July 1618, aged about fifty, and was buried in Bath Abbey—a polemic, rather than a theologian, of disastrous influence.

[47] p. 242, 'old Earl of Westmorland:' probably one of the seven sons of Ralph Nevill, fourth Earl of Westmoreland, who died in 1549. Henry, fifth earl, had but one son, who succeeded as sixth and last earl, and had no male issue.

[48] p. 242, 'old Lord Cameron:' Henry Fairfax, fourth but second surviving son of Thomas, first Lord Fairfax of Cameron: born at Denton, county York, 14th January 1588, and inherited Oglethorpe near Tadcaster; Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1608; became Rector of Ashton, then of Newton Kyme, and finally of Bolton Percy, county York; the last from 1646 to 1660, when he retired to Oglethorpe. He died 6th April 1665, and was buried in Bolton Percy Church.

[49] p. 242, 'Lord Gray's of Wark:' if this be true, he must have been either Ralph or John—the only brothers of William Grey, first Lord Grey of Werke (so created 1623); but no such fact occurs in the histories of the family.

[50] p. 242, 'Dr. Gray:' Rev. Anthony Grey, Rector of Burbage, county Leicester; a distant connection of Henry, eighth Earl of Kent, succeeded as ninth earl in 1639, and died in 1643.

[51] p. 242, 'Dr. Henry Compton:' sixth and youngest son of Spencer, second Earl of Northampton; became Bishop of Oxford in 1674, and was translated to the see of London 18th Decem-

ber 1675. He died at Fulham 7th July 1713, aged 81, and was buried in the churchyard there.

[52] p. 242, 'Dr. Greenvill:' Dennis Granville (sometimes Greenville) was third son of Sir Bevil Granville, knight, and brother of John, first Earl of Bath; became Rector of Easington and Elwyche, and chaplain in ordinary to King Charles II. He was instituted Dean of Durham 9th December 1684, but deprived 1st February 1690-1. He married Ann Cosyn, fourth daughter of John Bishop of Durham, and died without issue.

[53] p. 242, 'Dr. Crew:' Nathaniel Crewe, a younger son of John, first Lord Crewe of Stene; born 31st January 1633-4; successively Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, Dean of Chichester, and Bishop of Oxford, and translated to the see of Durham 22d October 1674. He succeeded his eldest brother, as third Lord Crewe, 30th November 1697. He died 18th September 1721.

[54] p. 242, 'John North:' fifth son of Dudley, fourth Lord North; born in London 4th September 1645. He was Greek Professor at Cambridge, Prebendary of Westminster, and Clerk of the Closet to King Charles II. He died unmarried in 1683, being then Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. See his Life by his brother, the Hon. Roger North.

[55] p. 243, 'Dr. Brereton:' probably George Brereton, a younger son of William, second Lord Brereton; but no one of the same seems to have been 'Doctor.' He became Rector of Elwick, county Durham, in 1667; died 1673.

[56] p. 243, 'Dr. Fern:' Henry Ferne, eighth son of Sir John Ferne, of Temple Belwood, county Lincoln, knight, secretary of the Council at York. He became successively Archdeacon of Leicester, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Dean of Ely, and was finally consecrated Bishop of Chester in February 1661-2. He died 16th March 1661-2, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

[57] p. 243, 'Dr. Hammond:' born 1605; died 25th April 1660. Works in many editions, early and modern: *clarum et venerabile nomen.*

[58] p. 244, 'begun:' cf. Poems, Vol. I. pp. 52, 279-80.

The author of the Appendices to the 'Priest to the Temple,' Barnabas Oley, though a poor writer of his mother-tongue, was a good man and 'full of the Holy Ghost.' A somewhat dilapidated board

in his church of Great Gransden records abundant benefactions by him within the parish, and, as is not always the case, they are still operative and enlarging. The following 'additional note' from Professor Mayor's Nicholas Ferrar, as before, overflows with his usual admirable references: 'Barnabas Oley was a most laborious tutor at Clare at the outbreak of the civil war (see the list of freshmen, nearly all pupils of his, preserved in the college). See Walker's "Sufferings," ii. 141-142; Wood's "Ath." ii. 667; Bentham's "Ely," i. 27; Barwick's "Life," 26n.; Baker in Hearne's "Caius," 690; his will in Baker's MS. xii. (or xvi.? the index gives both volumes) 191; his letter to Dr. Gower, ibid. ii. 146. "[I] can satisfy you that the rich man that desired to print Dr. J[ackson]'s works was Mr. Nettleton, of University College; and the Cambridge man that solicited it, Mr. Oley of Clare Hall, who lives in the north privately, near the place of L.[ady] Savil's demolished habitation" (Hammond's letter of Jan. 7 [1652-3], in the "Theologian and Ecclesiastic," xiii. 328). Lady S. lived at Altrop (ibid. vii. 60). "Mr. Oley is living, and I think now, in L[ondon], but I know not where" (Hammond, March 4 [1650-1]; ibid. vii. 285)' (pp. 303-4). The present incumbent of Great Gransden informs me that the following is an entry in his register: 'The Reverend Barnabas Oley, B.D., Vicar of Great Gransden, was buried Feby. 22d, 1685, in woolen, as was sworn before Charles Cæsar, Esq., and certified according to the act of Parliament made in y^t^ behalfe.' Another register-entry is, 'Barn. Oley, S.T.B, Vicar, ob. Feb. 20, 1685.'

With reference to Oley's notices of Herbert in the present Appendices, this extract from the 'Life of N. Ferrar, by his Brother,' is an interesting testimony: 'What is so well compiled by that worthy man (whoever he be) that made the preface to Mr Herbert's "Country Parson:" it's but my poor pains to write it out of the book, that can never too often read or meditate upon that discourse that so nearly concerns me as of such a brother, whom the world never could show a better brother to any brother, nor a more true lover, and one that did more for his family than he did in all kinds and ways for their temporal welfares in preservation, augmentation, and maintenance of their civil estates and affairs, and, that which is the superlative of all goodness and benefit, his never-ceasing care and pains for their spiritual well-being, everlasting happiness, and bliss' (p. 53). G.

III.

LETTER OF GEORGE HERBERT

TO

NICHOLAS FERRAR;

WITH NOTES ON VALDESSO'S 'CONSIDERATIONS.'

NOTE.

This 'Letter' and the accompanying 'Briefe Notes' appeared originally in Nicholas Ferrar's translation of Valdesso's 'Considerations,' published in 1638; and our text is taken from it. In the succeeding edition of 1646, the characteristic headings of the Letter and Notes alike and the Notes themselves were mutilated in part and in part added to, being placed in the margins in their places. By returning on the edition of 1638, the 'Briefe Notes' are given as Herbert sent them and as Ferrar himself prepared them for the press—he himself having died before the publication of the volume. In regard to the additions of 1646, it has been deemed well to give them, but they are placed within brackets. It is to be regretted that modern reprints (*e.g.* Pickering's 'Herbert,' 2 vols. 8vo, 1853) follow the 1646 text. In appended Notes and Illustrations the loss and (pseudo) gain of so doing are pointed out. The 1646 explanations of Herbert's Notes are somewhat intrusive, and ought perhaps to have been removed. The title-pages of 1638 and 1646 are as given on the opposite page, *a* and *b*.

G.

(a)

The Hundred and Ten

CONSIDERATIONS

of Signior

IOHN VALDESSO;

Treating of Those
things which are most profitable, most
necessary, and most perfect in our
Christian Profession.

Written in Spanish
Brought out of Italy by Vergerius, and
first set forth in Italian at Basil by
Cœlius Secundus Curio,
Anno 1550.

Afterward translated into French, and Printed
at Lions 1563, and again at Paris 1565.
And now translated out of the Italian
Copy into English, with Notes.

Whereunto is added an Epistle of the Authors,
or a Preface to his Divine Commentary
upon the Romans.

1 Cor. 2. Howbeit we spak wisdome amongst them that are perfect, yet not the wisdome of this world.

Oxford,
Printed by Leonard Lichfield, Printer
to the Vniversity. Ann. Dom. 1638. 4to.

(b)

Divine

CONSIDERATIONS

Treating
Of those things which are most profitable, most necessary, and most
perfect in our Christian
Profession.
By
John Valdesso.

1 Cor. 2. 6.

Cambridge:
Printed for E. D. by Roger Daniel, Printer
to the University. 1646. 12mo.

LETTER TO NICHOLAS FERRAR.

A Copy of a Letter written by Mr. George Herbert to his friend the Translator of this Book.[1]

My deare and deserving Brother,—Your Valdesso I now returne with many thanks, and some notes, in which perhaps you will discover some care, which I forbare not in the midst of my griefes: first, for your sake, because I would doe nothing negligently that you commit unto mee; secondly, for the author's sake, whom I conceive to have been a true servant of God, and to such and all that is theirs I owe diligence; thirdly, for the Churche's sake, to whom by printing it I would have you consecrate it. You owe the Church a debt, and God hath put this into your hands, as He sent the fish with mony to S. Peter, to discharge it: happily also with this, as His thoughts are fruitfull, intending the honour of His servant the author, who, being obscured in his own country, He would have to flourish in this land of light and region of the Gospell among His chosen. It is true, there

are some things which I like not in him, as my fragments will expresse when you read them; nevertheless I wish you by all meanes to publish it, for these three eminent things observable therein: first, that God in the midst of Popery should open the eyes of one to understand and expresse so clearely and excellently the intent of the Gospell in the acceptation of Christ's righteousnesse as he sheweth through all his Considertions, a thing strangely buried and darkned by the adversaries, and their great stumbling-block. Secondly, the great honour and reverence which he every where beares towards our deare Master and Lord, concluding every Consideration almost with His holy name, and setting His merit forth so piously; for which I doe so love him, that were there nothing else, I would print it, that with it the honour of my Lord might be published. Thirdly, the many pious rules of ordering our life about mortification and observation of God's Kingdome within us, and the working thereof, of which he was a very diligent observer. These three things are very eminent in the author, and overweigh the defects, as I conceive, towards the publishing thereof, &c.

Bemmorton, Sept. 29.[2]

Briefe Notes relating to the dvbiovs and offensive places in the following Considerations.[3]

To the 3 Consid. upon these words :

'Not for thy speech !'

'Other Law and other Doctrine have we.'

These words about the H. Scripture suite with what he writes elsewhere, especially Consid. 32. But I like none of it, for it slights the Scripture too much. Holy Scriptures have not only an elementary use, but a use of perfection, and are able to make the man of God perfect (1 Tim. iv.). And David (though David) studied all the day long in it ; and Joshua was to meditate therein day and night (Josh. the i.).

To the 3 Consid. upon these words :

'As they also make use of the Scriptures to conserve the health of their minds.'

All the Saints of God may be said in some sence to have put confidence in Scripture, but not as a naked Word severed from God, but as the Word of God ; and in so doing they doe not sever there [*sic*] trust from God. But by trusting in the Word of God they trust in God. Hee that trusts in the king's word for anything, trusts in the king.

To the 5 Consid. vpon these words :

'God regards not how pious or impious we be.'

This place, together with many other, as namely

Consid. 71, upon *Our Father;* and Consid. 94, upon these words: 'God doth not hold them for good or for evill for that they observe or not observe,' &c., though it were the author's opinion, yet the truth of it would be examined. See the note upon Consid. 36.

To the 6 Consid.

The doctrine of the last passage must be warily understood. First, that it is not to be understood of actuall sinnes, but habituall; for I can no more free my selfe from actuall sinnes after Baptisme, then I could of originall before and without Baptisme. The exemption from both is by the grace of God. Secondly, among habits, some oppose theological vertues, as vncharitablenesse opposes charity, infidelity, faith, distrust, hope; of these none can free themselves of themselves, but only by the grace of God: other habits oppose morall vertues, as prodigality opposes moderation, and pusillanimity, magnanimity; of these the heathen freed themselves only by the generall providence of God, as Socrates and Aristides, &c. Where he sayes the 'inflammation of the naturall,' he sayes aptly, so it be understood with the former distinction; for *fomes* is not taken away, but *accensio fomitis;* the naturall concupiscence is not quite extinguished, but the heate of it asswaged.

To the 11 Consid.

He often useth this manner of speech, beleeving by

Revelation, not by relation ;[4] whereby I understand he meaneth only the effectuall operation or illumination of the Holy Spirit testifying and applying the revealed truth of the Gospell, and not any private enthúsiasmes or revelations: as if he should say, 'A generall apprehension or assent to the promises of the Gospell by heare-say, or relation from others, is not that which filleth the heart with joy and peace in believing; but the Spirit's bearing witnesse with our spirit, revealing and applying the generall promises to every one in particular with such syncerity and efficacy, that it makes him godly, righteous, and sober all his life long, —this I call beleeving by Revelation, and not by relation.'

[Valdesso, in the passage to which this note is attached, considers the state of that man who, though hard of belief and difficult to be persuaded, has at length been awakened to the truths of the Gospel, as infinitely preferable to the hasty faith which the man who is easily persuaded to adopt any opinion is too often induced to yield to the promises of the Gospel. The former, as having resigned his prejudices to the force of truth, is said to believe by Revelation ; whereas the latter, as having yielded to the Gospel the same weak assent which any other doctrines equally might have drawn from him, is said to believe by relation, by human persuasion and the opinion of mankind.[5]]

To the 32 Consid.

I much mislike the comparison of the images and H. Scripture, as if they were both but alphabets, and after a time to be left. The H. Scriptures, as I wrote befores,[6] have not only an elementary use, but a use of perfection; neither can they ever be exhausted, as pictures may be by a plenarie circumspection, but still even to the most learned and perfect in them there is somewhat to be learned more: therefore David desireth God in the 119 Psalme to open his eyes, that he might see the wondrous things of His Lawes, and that he would make them his study, although by other words of the same Psalme it is evident that he was not meanly conversant in them. Indeed, he that shall so attend to the bark[7] of the letter as to neglect the consideration of God's worke in his heart through the Word, doth amisse; both are to be done—the Scriptures still used, and God's worke within us still observed, Who workes by His Word and ever in the reading of it. As for the text, 'They shall be all taught of God,' it being Scripture cannot be spoken to the disparagement of Scripture; but the meaning is this, That God in the dayes of the Gospell will not give an outward law of ceremonies as of old, but such a one as shall still have the assistance of the Holy Spirit applying it to our hearts, and ever outrunning the teacher, as it did when Peter taught Cornelius. There the case is plaine: Cor-

nelius had revelation, yet Peter was to be sent for, and those that have inspirations must still use Peter, God's Word: if we make another sence of that text, wee shall overthrow all means, save catechizing, and set up enthusiasmes.

In the Scripture are
Doctrines—these ever teach more and more;
Promises—these ever comfort more and more.
Ro. xv. 4.

[In this note Herbert justly objects to a very quaint and far-fetched comparison which the author draws between the books of Holy Scripture and the images of the Roman Catholic Church. As the unlearned are fond of placing pictorial images in different situations, in order that the objects of their belief might never be absent from their minds, so the learned delight to heap up copies of the Holy Scriptures, with notes, comments, and explanations of wise men, that they may be furnished with every information which they may desire on the subject of the Christian faith. But in both cases alike, those who are not endued with the true inspiration of the Spirit confine themselves to the study of these their first rudiments; whereas the truly pious, who are guided by the Spirit of God, look upon Scripture in one case and images in the other as but the alphabet as it were of Christianity, and to be cast aside after they have once obtained the revelation and grace of God. This comparison, as being incomplete,

and in fact leading to dangerous doctrines, Herbert very properly impugns.]

To the 33 Consid.

The doctrine of this Consideration cleareth that of the precedent. For as the servant leaves not the letter when he hath read it, but keepes it by him and reads it againe and againe, and the more the promise is delayed the more he reads it and fortifies himselfe with it; so are wee to doe with the Scriptures, and this is the use of the promises of the Scriptures. But the use of the doctrinall part is more, in regard it presents us not with the same thing only when it is read as the promises doe, but enlightens us with new considerations the more we read it. Much more might be said, but this sufficeth; he himselfe allowes it for a holy conversation and refreshment. [In the 32nd Consideration, and amongst all divine and spiritual exercises and duties, he nameth the reading and meditation of Holy Scripture for the first and principal, as Consid. 47 and others; so that it is plain the author had a very reverend esteem of the Holy Scripture, especially considering the time and place where he lived.

That Valdesso did not undervalue the Scriptures, notwithstanding the remarks alluded to in Herbert's last note, is evident from the passage to which this present note refers. In it the Scriptures are said to be to us as a letter would be to a servant from his lord,

which is treasured up by him as containing promises of high and unusual favours, certain in the end to be fulfilled, although slow in coming.]

To the 36 Consid. on these words:

'Neither fearing chastisement for transgression, nor hoping for reward, for observation,' &c.[8]

All the discourse from this line till the end of this chapter may seeme strange, but it is sutable to what the author holds elsewhere; for he maintaines that it is faith and infidelity that shall judge us now since the Gospell, and that no other sin or vertue hath anything to doe with us; if we believe, no sinne shall hurt us; if we believe not, no vertue shall helpe us. Therefore he saith here we shall not be punished (which word I like here better than chastizement, because even the godly are chastized, but not punished) for evill doing, nor rewarded for wel doing or living, for all the point lies in believing or not believing. And with this exposition the chapter is cleare enough; but the truth of the doctrine would be examined, however it may passe for his opinion: in the Church of God there is one fundamentall, but else variety. [The author's good meaning in this will better appear by his 98th Consideration of faith and good works.

The arguments of the author in this place on the 'Christian liberty' may be correctly explained as Herbert has in this note explained them. It may, however,

be questioned whether his language is not a little too obscure; so much so, indeed, that a hasty perusal of the chapter might lead those who were predisposed to such an inference to imagine that Valdesso had fallen into the grievous heresy which once led so many men astray in our own country, that even sins might be committed with impunity, and were not in fact sinful, when a man was once a member of the invisible Church of Christ, and justified by faith.]

To the 37 Consid. on these words:

'*That God is so delicate and sensitive*,' *&c.*

The Apostle saith that the wages of sinne is death, and therefore there is no sinne so small that merits not death, and that doth not provoke God, Who is a jealous God. [In the margin here, 'This note is the French translator's.']

To the 46 Consid. on these words:

'*Exercise not thyself in anything pretending justification.*'

He meaneth, I suppose, that a man presume not to merit, that is to oblige God or justify himselfe before God, by any acts or exercises of religion, but that he ought to pray God affectionately and fervently to send him the light of His Spirit, which may be unto him as the sunne to a travellour in his journey; hee in the meanewhile applying himselfe to the duties of true piety and syncere religion, such as are prayer, fast-

ing, almes-deeds, &c., after the example of devout Cornelius. [Or thus: there are two sorts of acts in religion, acts of humiliation and acts of confidence and joy: the person here described to be in the dark ought to use the first, and to forbear the second. Of the first sort are repentance, prayers, fasting, alms, mortifications, &c.; of the second, receiving of the Communion, praises, psalms, &c. These in divers cases ought, and were of old forborne for a time.

This note almost explains itself: in the text to which it refers the Spirit of God is described as gradually shedding its light upon the mind in the same manner as the sun breaks by degrees upon the eyes of a traveller in the dark.]

To the 49 Consid. on these words:

'*Remaining quiet when they perceive no motion*,' *&c.*

In indifferent things there is roome for motions and expecting of them; but in things good, as to relieve my neighbour, God hath already revealed His will about it. Therefore wee ought to proceed, except there be a restraining motion, as S. Paul had when hee would have preached in Asia; and I conceive the restraining motions are much more frequent to the godly then inviting motions, because the Scripture invites enough; for it invites us to all good, according to that singular place, Phil. iv. 8. A man is to embrace all good; but because he cannot doe all, God often chuseth which he

shall doe, and that by restraining him from what He would not have him doe.

[The author in this place is speaking of motions communicated by the Spirit, either to do or to refrain from doing certain actions. Herbert's note explains his sentiments on that subject.]

To the same Consid. vpon these words:

'*A man's free-will doth consist*,' *&c.*

He meanes a man's fre-will is only in outward, not in spirituall things.[9]

To the same Consid. on these words:

'*Neither Pharaoh nor Judas, &c. could cease to be such.*'

This doctrine, however true in substance, yet needeth discreet and wary explaining.

[The doctrine that bad men, such as Pharaoh, Judas, and other vessels of wrath, only fulfilled parts appointed to them by God, and could not be otherwise than what they were.]

To the 58 Consid. vpon the seventh difference.[10]

By occasions I suppose hee meaneth the ordinary or necessary duties and occasions of our calling and condition of life, and not those which are in themselves occasions of sinne, such as are all vain conversations; for as for these, pious persons ought alwaies to avoid

them; but in those other occasions God's Spirit will mortify and try them as gold in the fire.

Page 199 [1646].

[The author speaks of human learning as insufficient to guide a man to the knowledge of the truth. Herbert's note explains itself.]

To the 59 Consid. vpon these words:

'*And with doubtfulnesse I see He prayed in the garden.*'

To say our Saviour prayed with doubtfulnesse, is more then I can or dare say; but with condition or conditionally He prayed as man, though as God He knew the event. Feare is given to Christ, but not doubt, and upon good ground.[11]

To the 62 Consid.[12]

This chapter is considerable. The intent of it, that the world pierceth not godly men's actions no more than God's, is in some sort true, because they are spiritually discerned (1 Cor. ii. 14). So likewise are the godly in some sort exempt from Lawes, for *Lex iusto non est posita.* But when he enlargeth them he goes too farre. For first concerning Abraham and Sara, I ever tooke that for a weaknesse in the great patriark. And that the best of God's servants should have weaknesses is no way repugnant to the way of God's Spirit in them, or to the Scriptures, or to themselves, being still men, though godly men. Nay they are purposely

recorded in Holy Writ. Wherefore, as David's adultery cannot be excused, so need not Abraham's equivocation, nor Paul's neither when he professed himselfe a Pharisee, which strictly he was not, though in the point of resurrection he agreed with them, and they with him. The reviling also of Ananias seemes, by his owne recalling, an oversight; yet I remember the Fathers forbid us to judge of the doubtfull actions of saints in Scriptures, which is a modest admonition. But it is one thing not to judge, another to defend them. Secondly, when he useth the word jurisdiction, allowing no jurisdiction over the godly, this cannot stand, and it is ill doctrine in a common-wealth. The godly are punishable as others when they doe amisse, and they are to be judged according to the outward fact, unlesse it be evident to others as well as to themselves that God moved them; for otherwise any malefactor may pretend motions, which is unsufferable in a common-wealth. Neither doe I doubt but if Abraham had lived in our kingdome under government, and had killed his sonne Isaac, but he might have been justly put to death for it by the magistrate, unlesse he could have made it appeare that it was done by God's immediate precept. He had done justly; and yet he had been punished justly, that is, *in humano foro et secundum præsumptionem legalem* [according to the common and legal proceedings among men]. So may a warre be just on both sides, and was just in the Ca-

naanites and Israelites both. How the godly are exempt from laws is a known point among divines; but when he sayes they are equally exempt with God, that is dangerous and too farre. The best salve for the whole chapter is to distinguish judgment: there is a judgment of authority (upon a fact) and there is a judgment of the learned; for as a magistrate judgeth in his tribunall, so a scholar judgeth in his study, and censureth this or that; whence come so many books of severall men's opinions: perhaps he meant all of this later, not of the former. Worldly learned men cannot judg spirituall men's actions, but the magistrate may. [And surely this the author meant by the word jurisdiction, for so he useth the same word in Consideration 68 *ad finem*.

The 62nd Consideration treats of the dangerous and useless question how far saints are exempt from human law, laying down at the same time a position equally untenable in its full extent, that men have neither right nor ability to judge of those things which the holy men recorded in Scripture have done, contrary to human law. The note before us was penned by Herbert to qualify and restrict this doctrine.]

To the 63 Consid.[13]

The authour doth still discover too slight a regard of the Scriptures, as if it were but children's meat; whereas there is not onely milke there, 'but strong meat

also' (Heb. v. 14); 'things hard to bee understood' (2 Pet. iii. 16); 'things needing great consideration' (Mat. xxiv. 15). Besides, he opposeth the teaching of the Spirit to the teaching of the Scripture, which the Holy Spirit wrot. Although the Holy Spirit apply the Scripture, yet what the Scripture teacheth the Spirit teacheth, the Holy Spirit indeed some time doubly teaching, both in penning and in applying. I wonder how this opinion could befall so good a man as it seems Valdesso was, since the saints of God in all ages have ever held in so pretious esteem the Word of God, as their joy and crowne and their treasure on earth. Yet his owne practice seemes to confute his opinion; for the most of his Considerations being grounded upon some text of Scripture, shewes that he was continually conversant in it, and not used it for a time onely, and then cast it away, as he sayes strangely. There is no more to be said of this chapter, but that his opinion of the Scripture is unsufferable. As for the text of S. Pet. 2 Ep. i. 19, which he makes the ground of his Consideration, building it all upon the word untill the Day-starre arise, it is nothing. How many places doe the Fathers bring about 'until' against the heretiques who disputed against the virginity of the blessed Virgin out of that text (Mat. i. 25), where it is said Joseph 'knew her not *untill* shee had brought forth' her first borne Sonne, as if afterwards he had knowne her!—and indeed in common sence, if I bid a man stay in a place

untill I come, I doe not then bid him goe away, but rather stay longer, that I may speak with him or doe some thing else when I doe come. So S. Peter bidding the dispersed Hebrews attend to the word till the day dawn, doth not bid them then cast away the word, or leave it off; but, however, he would have them attend to it till that time, and then afterward they will attend it of themselves without his exhortation. Nay, it is observeable that in that very place he preferres the word before the sight of the Transfiguration of Christ. So that the word hath the precedence even of revelations and visions. And so his whole discourse and sevenfold observation falls to the ground.

[In the 63rd Consideration Valdesso attempts to show, 'by seven conformities, that the Holy Scripture is like a candle in a dark place, and that the Holy Spirit is like the sunne;' in this showing that slight regard for Scripture with which Herbert charges him in the note before us.]

To the 65 Consid. on these words:

'*Acknowledging the benefit received by Jesus Christ our Lord; like as it betides unto a thirsty travellour, to whom,*' &c.

This comparison is infinitely too base: there is none of the references which we have had with our Lord Jesus Christ, dissolved but infinitely perfected, and He shall ever continue our glorious Head; and all the in-

fluences of our happinesse shall ever descend from Him, and our chief glory shall, as I conceive, consist in that which He saith amongst the last words that He spake in the xvii. John, 24, 'Father, I will that they also whom Thou hast given Me bee with Me where I am, that they also may behold the glory which Thou hast given Me before the foundation of the world.' [To which agreeth that which S. Paul writes (2 Thes. i. chap. 9).[14]]

To the 69 Consid. upon these words :

'*So much faith, as thereby to remove mountaines.*'

Divines hold that justifying faith and the faith of miracles are divers gifts, and of a different nature, the one being *gratia gratis data*, the other *gratia gratum faciens*—this being given only to the godly, and the other sometimes to the wicked. Yet doubtlesse the best faith in us is defective, and arrives not to the point it should, which, if it did, it would doe more then it does. And miracle-working, as it may be severed from justifying faith, so it may be a fruit of it, and an exaltation (1 John v. 14).

[This note is appended to the 69th Consideration, that all men, bearing in mind the faith to work miracles with which some have been endued, should always judge their own faith incomplete ; and secondly, that their faith is always to be measured by their knowledge of God and Christ.]

Page 247[15] [1646].

[Though this were the author's opinion, yet the truth of it would be examined. The 98th Consideration, about being justified by faith or by good works, or condemned for unbelief or evil works, make plain the author's meaning.

The author in this place alludes briefly to the imputed merits of Christ, apparently as if they entirely superseded human virtue, and rendered it unnecessary. Herbert refers to the 98th Consideration to explain this apparent inconsistency.]

Page 270 [1646].

[By the saints of the world he everywhere understands the cunning hypocrite, who by the world is counted a very saint for his outward show of holiness; and we meet with two sorts of these saints of the world: one whose holiness consists in a few ceremonies and superstitious observations; the other's in a zeal against these, and in a strict performance of a few cheap and easy duties of religion with no less superstition; both of them having forms or vizors of godliness, but denying the power thereof.

This note merely explains a term, 'saints of the world,' which Valdesso employs in the Consideration to which the note is attached.]

Page 354.

[Though this be the author's opinion, yet the truth of it would be examined. The 98th Consideration, about being justified by faith or by good works, or condemned for unbelief or evil works, make plain the author's meaning.

Herbert here repeats a note which he had attached to a previous passage. He again alludes to the same doctrine, qualifying it by a reference to a future Consideration.]

[To the 94 Consid.

By Hebrew piety he meaneth not the very ceremonies of the Jewes, which no Christian observes now, but an analogat[16] observation of ecclesiasticall and canonicall lawes, superinduced to the Scriptures, like to that of the Jewes, which they added to their divine law. This being well weighed, will make the Consideration easy and very observeable; for at least some of the Papists are come now to what the Pharisees were come to in our Saviour's time.

This note is written to explain the term 'Hebrew piety,' and in no other way refers to the text of Valdesso.]

Page 355.

[This is true only of the Popish cases of conscience, which depend almost wholly on their canon law and decretals, knots of their own tying and untying; but

there are other cases of conscience, grounded on piety and morality, and the difficulty of applying their general rules to particular actions, which are a most noble study.

Herbert here qualifies another statement of Valdesso, which would seem to confound the cases of conscience which the Romanists were so fond of framing with others which often arise in the bosoms of good men, and are founded on a regard to piety and morality.]

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

[1] Heading: in 1646 the heading is 'Preface and Notes by George Herbert to the Divine Considerations, Treating of those things which are most Profitable, most Necessary, and most Perfect in our Christian Profession, by John Valdesso. Mr. G. Herbert to Master N. F. upon his Translation of Valdesso.'

[2] Date: in 1646 edition it is dated 'From Bemmerton near Salisbury, September 29, 1632.' By an inadvertence in the new translation of Valdesso by John T. Betts, along with Wiffen's 'Life and Writings' of Juan de Valdés (1865), the letter of Herbert is mis-dated '1637' (p. 199), and the notes are not given.

[3] Heading: in 1646 the heading is simply, 'Notes to the Divine Considerations.' The whole of the notes on the 3d Consideration upon these words, 'Not for thy speech!' . . . Other law, &c.; to the 3d Consideration upon 'As they also mak' [*sic*] &c.; to the 5th Consideration upon 'God regards not,' &c.; and to the 6th Consideration 'The doctrine,' &c., are cut out in the 1646 edition without a word of explanation.

[4] 'Not by relation:' in 1646 these words are dropped.

[5] The additional remarks in Valdesso here and subsequently are from the 1646 edition, placed within brackets to distinguish from Herbert's own notes.

[6] 'befores:' probably a misprint for 'before.' The words 'as I wrote befores' are left out in 1646, to conceal apparently the suppression therein of Herbert's note on the 3d Consideration.

[7] 'bark:' usually misprinted 'backe.'

[8] Besides verbal errors in 1646, the parenthetic clause in this note is omitted therein.

[9] This note is altogether omitted in 1646 edition.

[10] Again, besides verbal errors, the whole of this note is omitted in 1646 edition.

[11] Once more this note is omitted in 1646 edition.

[12] Various careless mistakes and omissions here in 1646 are corrected by return to 1638 edition.

[13] The same remark applies to this note.

[14] In the margin of 1638 here, 'This note is the French translator's.'

[15] From this onward, 1646 edition first printed.

[16] 'analogat'=our 'analogous.' G.

IV.

A TREATISE

OF

TEMPERANCE AND SOBRIETIE.

By LUD. CORNARUS.

TRANSLATED BY HERBERT.

NOTE.

Our text is from the edition of Cornarus as translated by Herbert of 1636, his own orthography being restored and occasional verbal changes of modern reprints rectified. It may be noted here that this tractate of Cornarus was appended to the following (with separate pagination): 'Hygiasticon; or the right Course of preserving Life and Health unto extreme old Age: together with soundnesse and integritie of the senses, judgment and memorie. Written in Latine by Leonard Lessius, and now done into English. The third edition. ¶ Printed by the printers to the Universitie of Cambridge, 1636' (18mo). Appended again to Cornarus (with continuous pagination) is a 'Discourse translated out of Italian that a spare Diet is better than a splendid and sumptuous: a Paradox.' Prefixed to Lessius are various verse-addresses to the translator, including the vivid and memorable poem by Richard Crashaw; also verses by J. Jackson, Peter Gunning, A.R., S.J., and B. Oley, and anonymous. Oley's being short may here find place:

> 'Me thinks I could b' intemp'rate in thy praise,
> Feast thee with fixèd words and sugred laies;
> But that thy prose, my verse, do both command
> Me to keep measure, and take off my hand.
> There's gluttonie in words: the mouth may sin
> In giving out as well as taking in. B. OLEY.'

In the preface 'To the Reader' there are these references to Herbert: 'Master George Herbert of blessed memorie, having at the request of a noble personage translated it into English, sent a copy thereeof, not many months before his death, unto some friends of his, who a good while before had given an attempt of regulating themselves in matter of diet; which, although it was after a very imperfect manner in regard of that exact course therein prescribed, yet it was of great advantage to them, inasmuch as they were enabled through the good preparation that they had thus made to go immediately to the practice of that pattern which Cornarus had set them, and so have reaped the benefit thereof in a larger and eminenter manner than could otherwise possibly have been imagined in so short a space.' 'Master Herbert professeth, and so it is indeed apparent, that he was enforced to leave out something out of Cornarus; but it was not anything appertaining to the main subject of the book, but chiefly certain extravagant excursions of the author against the reformation of religion, which in his time was newly begun.' G.

A TREATISE OF TEMPERANCE AND SOBRIETIE.

Written by *Lud. Cornarus;* translated into English by Mr. *George Herbert.*

Having observed in my time many of my friends of excellent wit and noble disposition overthrown and undone by intemperance, who, if they had lived, would have been an ornament to the world and a comfort to their friends, I thought fit to discover in a short treatise that intemperance was not such an evil but it might easily be remedied; which I undertake the more willingly because divers worthy young men have obliged me unto it. For when they saw their parents and kindred snatcht away in the midst of their dayes, and me contrariwise, at the age of eightie and one, strong and lustie, they had a great desire to know the way of my life, and how I came to be so. Wherefore, that I may satisfie their honest desire, and withall help many others who will take this into consideration, I will declare the causes which moved me to forsake intemperance

and live a sober life, expressing also the means which I have used therein. I say therefore, that the infirmities which did not onely begin, but had already gone farre in me, first caused me to leave intemperance, to which I was much addicted; for by it and my ill constitution (having a most cold and moist stomack) I fell into divers diseases, to wit, into the pain of the stomack, and often of the side, and the beginning of the gout, with almost a continuall fever and thirst.

From this ill temper there remained little else to be expected of me then that after many troubles and griefs I should quickly come to an end; whereas my life seemed as farre from it by nature as it was neare it by intemperance. When therefore I was thus affected from the thirtie-fifth yeare of my age to the fourtieth, having tried all remedies fruitlesly, the physicians told me that yet there was one help for me, if I could constantly pursue it, to wit, a sober and orderly life; for this had every way great force for the recovering and preserving of health, as a disorderly life to the overthrowing of it, as I too wel by experience found. For temperance preserves even old men and sickly men sound; but intemperance destroyes most healthy and flourishing constitutions; for contrarie causes have contrarie effects, and the faults of nature are often amended by art, as barren grounds are made fruitfull by good husbandry. They added withall, that unlesse I speedily used that remedy, within a few moneths I

should be driven to that exigent,[1] that there would be no help for me but death, shortly to be expected.

Upon this, weighing their reasons with my self, and abhorring[2] from so sudden an end, and finding my self continually oppressed with pain and sicknesse, I grew fully perswaded that all my griefs arose out of intemperance, and therefore, out of an hope of avoiding death and pain, I resolved to live a temperate life.

Whereupon, being directed by them in the way I ought to hold, I understood that the food I was to use was such as belonged to sickly constitutions, and that in a small quantitie. This they had told me before; but I then not liking that kind of diet, followed my appetite and did eat meats pleasing to my taste; and when I felt inward heats, drank delightfull wines, and that in great quantitie, telling my physicians nothing thereof, as is the custome of sick people. But after I had resolved to follow temperance and reason, and saw that it was no hard thing to do so, but the proper duty of man, I so addicted my self to this course of life, that I never went a foot out of the way. Upon this I found within a few dayes that I was exceedingly helped, and by continuance thereof within lesse then one yeare, although it may seem to some incredible, I was perfectly cured of all my infirmities.

Being now sound and well, I began to consider the force of temperance, and to think thus with my self: If temperance had so much power as to bring me

health, how much more to preserve it! Wherefore I began to search out most diligently what meats were agreeable unto me and what disagreeable; and I purposed to try whether those that pleased my taste brought me commoditie or discommoditie; and whether that proverb wherewith gluttons use to defend themselves, to wit, 'That which savours is good and nourisheth,' be consonant to truth. This upon triall I found most false; for strong and very cool wines pleased my taste best, as also melons and other fruit; in like manner, raw lettice, fish, pork, sausages, pulse, and cake and py-crust, and the like; and yet all these I found hurtfull.

Therefore trusting on experience, I forsook all these kinde of meats and drinks, and chose that wine that fitted my stomack, and in such measure as easily might be digested; above all, taking care never to rise with a full stomack, but so as I might well both eat and drink more. By this means, within lesse then a year I was not onely freed from all those evils which had so long beset me and were almost become incurable, but also afterwards I fell not into that yearely disease whereinto I was wont when I pleased my sense & appetite. Which benefits also still continue, because from the time that I was made whole I never since departed from my settled course of sobrietie, whose admirable power causeth that the meat and drink that is taken in fit measure gives true strength to the bodie,

all superfluities passing away without difficultie, and no ill humours being ingendred in the body.

Yet with this diet I avoided other hurtfull things also, as too much heat and cold, wearinesse, watching, ill aire, overmuch use of the benefit of marriage; for although the power of health consists most in the proportion of meat and drink, yet these forenamed things have also their force. I preserved me also, as much as I could, from hatred and melancholie, and other perturbations of the minde, which have a great power over our constitutions. Yet could I not so avoid all these but now and then I fell into them; which gained me this experience—that I perceived that they had no great power to hurt those bodies which were kept in good order by a moderate diet; so that I can truly say, that they who in these two things that enter in at the mouth keep a fit proportion shall receive little hurt from other excesses.

This Galen confirms, when he sayes that immoderate heats and colds, and windes and labours, did little hurt him, because in his meats and drinks he kept a due moderation, and therefore never was sick by any of these inconveniences, except it were for one onely day. But mine own experience confirmeth this more, as all that know me can testifie. For having endured many heats and colds and other like discommodities of the bodie and troubles of the minde, all these did hurt me little, whereas they hurt them very much who live

intemperately. For when my brother and others of my kindred saw some great powerfull men pick quarrels against me, fearing lest I should be overthrown, they were possessed with a deep melancholie (a thing usuall to disorderly lives), which increased so much in them, that it brought them to a sudden end; but I, whom that matter ought to have affected most, received no inconvenience thereby, because that humour abounded not in me.

Nay, I began to perswade my self that this suit and contention was raised by the Divine Providence, that I might know what great power a sober and temperate life hath over our bodies and mindes, and that at length I should be a conquerour, as also a little after it came to passe. For in the end I got the victorie, to my great honour and no lesse profit; whereupon also I joyed exceedingly, which excesse of joy neither could do me any hurt. By which it is manifest, that neither melancholie nor any other passion can hurt a temperate life.

Moreover, I say that even bruises and squats[3] and falls, which often kill others, can bring little grief or hurt to those that are temperate. This I found by experience when I was seventie yeares old; for riding in a coach in great haste, it happened that the coach was overturned, and then was dragged for a good space by the fury of the horses, whereby my head and whole bodie was sore hurt, and also one of my arms and legs

put out of joynt. Being carried home, when the physicians saw in what case I was, they concluded that I would die within three dayes; neverthelesse, at a venture, two remedies might be used—letting of bloud and purging, that the store of humours and inflammation and fever which was certainly expected, might be hindred.

But I, considering what an orderly life I had led for many yeares together, which must needs so temper the humours of the bodie that they could not be much troubled or make a great concourse, refused both remedies, and onely commanded that my arm and legge should be set and my whole bodie anointed with oyl; and so without other remedie or inconvenience I recovered, which seemed as a miracle to the physicians. Whence I conclude that they that live a temperate life can receive little hurt from other inconveniences.

But my experience taught me another thing also, to wit, that an orderly and regular life can hardly be altered without exceeding great danger.

About foure yeares since, I was led by the advice of physicians and the dayly importunitie of my friends to adde something to my usuall stint and measure. Divers reasons they brought, as that old age could not be sustained with so little meat and drink; which yet needs not onely to be sustained, but also to gather strength, which could not be but by meat and drink. On the other side, I argued that nature was contented

with a little, and that I had for many yeares continued in good health with that little measure, that custome was turned into nature, and therefore it was agreeable to reason that, my yeares increasing and strength decreasing, my stint of meat and drink should be diminished rather then increased, that the patient might be proportionable to the agent, and especially since the power of my stomack every day decreased. To this agreed two Italian proverbs, the one whereof was, 'He that will eat much, let him eat little;'* because by eating little he prolongs his life. The other proverb was, 'The meat which remaineth profits more then that which is eaten.'† By which is intimated that the hurt of too much meat is greater then the commoditie of meat taken in a moderate proportion.

But all these things could not defend me against their importunities. Therefore, to avoid obstinacie and gratifie my friends, at length I yeelded, and permitted the quantitie of meat to be increased, yet but two ounces onely; for whereas before the measure of my whole daye's meat, viz. of my bread and egges and flesh and broth, was twelve ounces exactly weighed, I increased it to the quantitie of two ounces more; and

* Mangierà più, chi manco mangia. Ed e' contrario,
Chi più mangia, manco mangia. Il senso è,
Poco vive chi troppo sparechia.

† Fa più pro quel che si lascia sul' tondo, che
Quel' che si mette nel ventre.

the measure of my drink, which before was fourteen ounces, I made now sixteen.

This addition after ten dayes wrought so much upon me, that of a cheerfull and merrie man I became melancholie and cholerick, so that all things were troublesome to me, neither did I know well what I did or said. On the twelfth day, a pain of the side took me, which held me two and twentie houres. Upon the neck of it came a terrible fever, which continued thirtie-five dayes and nights, although after the fifteenth day it grew lesse and lesse. Besides all this, I could not sleep, no not a quarter of an houre; whereupon all gave me for dead.

Neverthelesse I, by the grace of God, cured myself onely with returning to my former course of diet, although I was now seventie-eight yeares old, and my bodie spent with extream leannesse, and the season of the yeare was winter, and most cold aire. And I am confident that, under God, nothing holp[4] me but that exact rule which I had so long continued. In all which time I felt no grief, save now and then a little indisposition for a day or two.

For the temperance of so many yeares spent[5] all ill humours, and suffered not any new of that kinde to arise, neither the good humours to be corrupted or contract any ill qualitie, as usually happens in old men's bodies which live without rule; for there is no malignitie of old age in the humours of my bodie

which commonly kills men; and that new one, which I contracted by breaking my diet, although it was a sore evil, yet had no power to kill me.

By this it may clearely be perceived how great is the power of order and disorder; whereof the one kept me well for many yeares; the other, though it was but a little excesse, in a few dayes had so soon overthrown me. If the world consist of order, if our corporall life depend on the harmonie of humours and elements, it is no wonder that order should preserve, and disorder destroy. Order makes arts easie, and armies victorious, and retains and confirms kingdomes, cities, and families in peace. Whence I conclude that an orderly life is the most sure way and ground of health and long dayes, and the true and onely medicine of many diseases.

Neither can any man denie this who will narrowly consider it. Hence it comes that a physician, when he cometh to visit his patient, prescribes this physick first, that he use a moderate diet; and when he hath cured him, commends this also to him, if he will live in health. Neither is it to be doubted but that he shall ever after live free from diseases if he will keep such a course of life, because this will cut off all causes of diseases, so that he shall need neither physick nor physician; yea, if he will give his minde to those things which he should, he will prove himself a physician, and that a very compleat one; for, indeed, no

man can be a perfect physician to another, but to himself onely. The reason whereof is this: every one by long experience may know the qualities of his own nature, and what hidden properties it hath, what meat and drink agrees best with it; which things in others cannot be known without such observation as is not easily to be made upon others, especially since there is a greater diversitie of tempers then of faces. Who would believe that old wine should hurt my stomack, and new should help it; or that cinnamon should heat me more than pepper? What physician could have discovered these hidden qualities to me if I had not found them out by long experience? Wherefore one to another cannot be a perfect physician. Whereupon I conclude, since none can have a better physician then himself, nor better physick then a temperate life, temperance by all means is to be embraced.

Neverthelesse, I denie not but that physicians are necessarie, and greatly to be esteemed for the knowing and curing of diseases, into which they often fall who live disorderly. For if a friend who visits thee in thy sicknesse, and onely comforts and condoles, doth perform an acceptable thing to thee, how much more dearely should a physician be estemed, who not only as a friend doth visit thee, but help thee?

But that a man may preserve himself in health, I advise that, instead of a physician, a regular life is to be embraced, which, as is manifest by experience,

is a natural physick most agreeable to us, and also doth preserve even ill tempers in good health, and procure that they prolong their life even to a hundred yeares and more, and that at length they shut up their dayes like a lamp, only by a pure consumption of the radicall moisture, without grief or perturbation of humours. Many have thought that this could be done by *aurum potabile*, or the philosopher's stone, sought of many and found of few. But surely there is no such matter if temperance be wanting.

But sensuall men (as most are), desiring to satisfie their appetite and pamper their belly, although they see themselves ill handled by their intemperance, yet shunne a sober life; because, they say, it is better to please the appetite, though they live ten years lesse then otherwise they should do, then alwayes to live under bit and bridle. But they consider not of how great moment ten yeares are in mature age, wherein wisdome and all kinde of vertues is most vigorous; which but in that age can hardly be perfected. And that I may say nothing of other things, are not almost all the learned books that we have written by their authours in that age and those ten yeares which they set at nought in regard of their belly?

Besides, these belly-gods say that an orderly life is so hard a thing that it cannot be kept. To this I answer that Galen kept it and held it for the best physick; so did Plato also, and Isocrates, and Tullie,

and many others of the ancient; and in our age, Paul the third and Cardinal Bembo, who therefore lived so long; and among our dukes, Laudus and Donatus, and many others of inferiour condition, not onely in the citie, but also in villages and hamlets.

Wherefore, since many have observed a regular life, both of old times and later yeares, it is no such thing which may not be performed; especially since in observing it there needs not many and curious things, but onely that a man should begin, and by little and little accustome himself unto it.

Neither doth it hinder that Plato sayes that they who are employed in the common-wealth cannot live regularly, because they must often endure heats and colds and windes and showers and divers labours which suit not with an orderly life; for I answer that those inconveniences are of no great moment, as I shewed before, if a man be temperate in meat and drink; which is both easie for common-weals-men, and very convenient, both that they may preserve themselves from diseases, which hinder publick employment, as also that their minde, in all things wherein they deal, may be more lively and vigorous.

But some may say he which lives a regular life, eating alwayes light meats and in a little quantitie, what diet shall he use in diseases, which being in health he hath anticipated? I answer: first, Nature, which endeavours to preserve a man as much as she

can, teacheth us how to govern our selves in sicknesse; for suddenly it takes away our appetite, so that we can eat but a very little, wherewith she is very well contented. So that a sick man, whether he hath lived heretofore orderly or disorderly, when he is sick, ought not to eat but such meats as are agreeable to his disease, and that in much smaller quantitie then when he was well. For if he should keep his former proportion, nature, which is alreadie burdened with a disease, would be wholly oppressed. Secondly, I answer better—that he which lives a temperate life cannot fall into diseases, and but very seldome into indispositions; because temperance takes away the causes of diseases; and the cause being taken away, there is no place for the effect.

Wherefore, since an orderly life is so profitable, so vertuous, so decent, and so holy, it is worthy by all means to be embraced, especially since it is easie and most agreeable to the nature of man. No man that followes it is bound to eat and drink so little as I. No man is forbidden to eat fruit or fish which I eat not. For I eat little, because a little sufficeth my weak stomack; and I abstain from fruit and fish and the like, because they hurt me. But they who finde benefit in these meats may, yea ought to use them; yet all must take heed lest they take a greater quantitie of any meat or drink, though most agreeable to them, then their stomack can easily digest. So that he which is offended with no kinde of meat and drink

hath the quantitie and not the qualitie for his rule, which is very easie to be observed.

Let no man here object unto me, that there are many who, though they live disorderly, yet continue in health to their lives' end; because, since this is at the best but uncertain, dangerous, and very rare, the presuming upon it ought not to leade us to a disorderly life.

It is not the part of a wise man to expose himself to so many dangers of diseases and death, onely upon a hope of a happie issue, which yet befalls verie few. An old man of an ill constitution, but living orderly, is more sure of life then the most strong young man who lives disorderly.

But some, too much given to appetite, object that a long life is no such desirable thing, because that after one is once sixtie-five yeares old, all the time we live after is rather death then life. But these erre greatly, as I will shew by myself, recounting the delights and pleasures in this age of eightie-three which now I take, and which are such as that men generally account me happie.

I am continually in health, and I am so nimble that I can easily get on horseback without the advantage of the ground, and sometimes I go up high stairs and hills on foot. Then I am ever cheerful, merrie, and well-contented, free from all troubles and troublesome thoughts; in whose place joy and peace have

taken up their standing in my heart. I am not wearie of life, which I passe with great delight. I conferre often with worthie men, excelling in wit, learning, behaviour, and other vertues. When I cannot have their companie I give myself to the reading of some learned book, and afterwards to writing; making it my aim in all things how I may help others to the furthest of my power.

All these things I do at my ease, and at fit seasons, and in mine own houses; which, besides that they are in the fairest place of this learned city of Padua, are verie beautifull and convenient above most in this age, being so built by me according to the rules of architecture, that they are cool in summer and warm in winter.

I enjoy also my gardens, and those divers parted with rills of running water, which truely is very delightfull. Some times of the yeare I enjoy the pleasure of the Euganean hills, where also I have fountains and gardens and a very convenient house. At other times I repair to a village of mine seated in the valley; which is therefore very pleasant, because many wayes thither are so ordered that they all meet and end in a fair plot of ground, in the midst whereof is a church suitable to the condition of the place. This place is washed with the river of Brenta, on both sides whereof are great and fruitfull fields, well manured[6] and adorned with many habitations. In former time it

was not so, because the place was moorish and unhealthy, fitter for beasts then men. But I drained the ground and made the aire good; whereupon men flockt thither and built houses with happy successe. By this means the place is come to that perfection we now see it is; so that I can truely say that I have both given God a temple, and men to worship Him in it. The memorie whereof is exceeding delightfull to me.

Sometimes I ride to some of the neighbour-cities, that I may enjoy the sight and communication of my friends, as also of excellent artificers in architecture, painting, stone-cutting, musick, and husbandrie, whereof in this age there is great plentie. I view their pieces; I compare them with those of antiquitie; and ever I learn somewhat which is worthy of my knowledge; I survey palaces, gardens, and antiquities, publick fabricks, temples, and fortifications; neither omit I any thing that may either teach or delight me. I am much pleased also in my travells with the beauty of situation. Neither is this my pleasure made lesse by the decaying dulnesse of my senses, which are all in their perfect vigour, but especially my taste; so that any simple fare is more savourie to me now then heretofore, when I was given to disorder and all the delights that could be.

To change my bed troubles me not; I sleep well and quietly anywhere, and my dreams are faire and

pleasant. But this chiefly delights me, that my advice hath taken effect in the reducing of many rude and untoiled[7] places in my countrey to cultivation and good husbandrie. I was one of those that was deputed for the managing of that work, and abode in those fenny places two whole moneths in the heat of summer (which in Italie is very great), receiving not any hurt or inconvenience thereby; so great is the power and efficacie of that temperance which ever accompanied me.

These are the delights and solaces of my old age, which is altogether to be preferred before others' youth, because that by temperance and the grace of God I feel not those perturbations of bodie and minde wherewith infinite both young and old are afflicted.

Moreover, by this also in what estate I am may be discovered, because at these yeares, viz. 83, I have made a most pleasant comedie, full of honest wit and merriment; which kinde of poems useth to be the childe of youth, which it most suits withall for variety and pleasantnesse, as a tragedie with old age, by reason of the sad events which it contains. And if a Greek poet of old was praised, that at the age of 73 yeares he writ a tragedie, why should I be accounted lesse happie or lesse my self, who, being ten yeares older, have made a comedie?

Now, lest there should be any delight wanting to my old age, I daily behold a kinde of immortalitie in

the succession of my posteritie. For when I come home, I finde eleven grandchildren of mine, all the sonnes of one father and mother, all in perfect health, all, as farre as I can conjecture, very apt and well given both for learning and behaviour. I am delighted with their musick and fashion, and I my self also sing often, because I have now a clearer voice then ever I had in my life.

By which it is evident that the life which I live at this age is not a dead, dumpish, and sowre life, but cheerfull, lively, and pleasant. Neither, if I had my wish, would I change age and constitution with them who follow their youthfull appetites, although they be of a most strong temper, because such are daily exposed to a thousand dangers and deaths, as daily experience sheweth, and I also, when I was á young man, too well found. I know how inconsiderate that age is, and though subject to death, yet continually afraid of it; for death to all young men is a terrible thing, as also to those that live in sinne and follow their appetites; whereas I, by the experience of so many yeares, have learned to give way to reason; whence it seems to me not onely a shamefull thing to fear that which cannot be avoided, but also I hope, when I shall come to that point, I shall finde no little comfort in the favour of Jesus Christ. Yet I am sure that my end is farre from me; for I know that, setting casualties aside, I shall not die but by a pure resolu-

tion,[8] because that by the regularitie of my life I have shut out death all other wayes, and that is a fair and desireable death which nature brings by way of resolution.

Since, therefore, a temperate life is so happie and pleasant a thing, what remains but that I should wish all who have the care of themselves to embrace it with open arms?

Many things more might be said in commendation hereof; but lest in anything I forsake that temperance which I have found so good, I here make an end (pp. 1-46).

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

[1] 'Exigent:' see Glossarial Index, *s.v.*
[2] 'Abhorring from'=great aversion.
[3] 'Squats'=a sudden or crushing fall.
[4] 'Holp'=helped.
[5] 'Spent'=passed, consumed.
[6] 'Manured'=cultivated.
[7] 'Untoiled'=untilled, uncultivated.
[8] 'Resolution'=our dissolution or natural separation. Cornarus (or Cornaro), born in 1467, actually lived on to well-nigh his 100th year: died April 26, 1566. G.

V.

JACULA PRUDENTUM.

NOTE.

The first edition of the Proverbs bore the following title-page:

OVTLANDISH

PROVERBS

SELECTED

By Mr. G. H.

London,
Printed by T. P. for *Humphrey Blunden;* at the *Castle in Corn-hill.* 1640.

Title-page and A2-D2 = 35 leaves 12mo. The second edition is as follows:

JACULA

PRUDENTUM

OR

Outlandish

PROVERBS,

SENTENCES, &c.

SELECTED

By Mr. George Herbert

Late
Orator of the Universitie of
CAMBRIDG.

London
Printed by *T. Maxey* for T. Garthwait, at the little North door of St. Pauls. 1651.

Title-page and pp. 70. 12mo. In the first edition the Proverbs are numbered 1 to 1032, and commence with 'Man proposeth,' &c. and end with 'He that wipes,' &c.; but the numbering inadvertently passes from 173 to 178, and so onward to 778, when the numbering is continued 780, and so again 831 is succeeded by 838, and 947 by 949. Thus 7 from 1032 leaves 1025, agreeably to our numbering, in the first edition. Our text follows the original edition throughout: but the additions of 1650 are placed within brackets unnumbered. All modern reprints hitherto are careless, as see examples in our Preface to Vol. I. and Notes and Illustrations herein. Original orthography and wording are for the first time restored.

It has been objected that the early editors do not mention the Proverbs. Two explanations suggest themselves—Walton simply passed over his translation of Cornarus, Notes on Valdesso, &c. as probably too slight for specific mention; while Archdeacon Oley might regard the collection as *infra dignitatem*. Had either known it to be unauthentic, it would have been doubtless disowned, especially Oley, with whose edition of 'The Country Parson,' 'Jacula Prudentum' was bound up, as below. So too with Peckard. It seems clear that such a collection never would have been thought of as being assigned to Herbert, unless the owners of the MS. were satisfied of its authenticity. It is not a thing that, hastily regarded, one would have expected from Herbert. Hence the genuineness is the more probable. The second edition (separately paged) is usually found with 'Herbert's Remains' 1652: and in relation thereto be it noted further, that the publisher of the original edition of the 'Priest to the Temple' (of which mainly the 'Remains' consist) was T. Garthwait, the publisher of the second edition of 'Jacula Prudentum.' That Garthwaite was the publisher is the more noteworthy, inasmuch as he was the chosen friend of Archdeacon Oley, whose Letters were addressed to his care (see one in Professor Mayor's Nicholas Ferrar, pp. 7-11). Besides all this, in the Middle Hill MS. (9527 C. art. 8, D. art. 3.) its list of 'Books and MSS. belonging to [Ferrar's godson] Mr. John Mapletoft'—the same to whom the Williams MS. belonged—enumerates two MS. collections of Proverbs, one of which Jones's Catalogue (the Jones to whom Mapletoft gave the Williams MS.) states to be a work of Herbert (Professor Mayor's Nicholas Ferrar, pp. 302, 308). Mr. Yeowell in a long 'note' to 'Notes and Queries' (2d series, iii. pp. 88-9) expressed his doubt of the genuineness

of the Proverbs; but Professor Mayor, with characteristic fulness of authority and point, set aside the objections (ibid. pp. 130-1). Mr. Yeowell made much of the erasure of the initials G. H. in the Bodleian copy. That is of no weight, seeing that under whatever circumstances a G. H. must have been the collector. Moreover the Bodleian catalogue is no authority at all—rather the reverse—on authorship of its treasures, as every worker in our old literature finds.

Let the critical reader compare the Glossarial Index to the Poems (especially 'The Church Porch') with that to the Prose, and he will find Herbert's favourite and peculiar and peculiarly used words and turns in the 'Proverbs,' so as to place their genuineness as his collection and largely his own composition beyond doubt. In the 'Priest to the Temple' (chaps. iv. v. xi. and xxxiii.) Herbert inculcated on the 'Countrey Parson' that he shall interest himself in rustic usages, ways of thinking, and speaking. It may be well to record that in the Middle Hill MS. (as above) the Proverbs are thus associated: 'A large book of stories with outlandish proverbs at the end, englished by Mr. George Herbert: in all 463 proverbs. [One story-book begins with: 'The chief care of parents ought to be the good education of children.' ii. Examples of good children. This is the story-book with Proverbs. J. J.'] (Professor Mayor's Ferrar, as before, pp. 302-3). Surely this describes a yet unrecovered MS. containing 'stories . . . englished' by Herbert? It must be hidden away somewhere, and its recovery is much to be wished.

With reference to the original title, 'Outlandish Proverbs,' it is noticeable that Herbert in 'A Priest to the Temple' (p. 162) says that the Country Parson doth bear in mind in the morning 'the *outlandish* proverb, that prayers and provender never hinder journey;' and also in one of his letters to his brother Henry writes thus: 'Take this rule, and it is an *outlandish* one, which I commend to you as being now a father: "The best bred child hath the best portion"' (see Letters in the present volume). The word and the proverb come quite naturally to him, and incidentally further confirm the authorship. G.

JACULA PRUDENTUM.

[Old men go to death; death comes to young men.]

1. Man proposeth, God disposeth.

2. Hee begins to die that quits his desires.

3. A handfull of good life is better then a bushell of learning.

4. He that studies his content wants it.

5. Every day brings his bread with it.

6. Humble hearts have humble desires.

7. Hee that stumbles and falls not, mends his pace.

8. The house shews the owner.

9. He that gets out of debt growes rich.

10. All is well with him who is beloved of his neighbours.

11. Building and marrying of children are great wasters.

12. A good bargaine is a pickpurse.

13. The scalded dog feares cold water.

14. Pleasing ware is halfe sould.

15. Light burthens long borne growe heavie.

16. The wolfe knowes what the ill beast thinkes.

17. Who hath none to still him may weepe out his eyes.

18. When all sinnes growe[1] old covetousnesse is young.

19. If yee would know a knave give him a staffe.

20. You cannot know wine by the barrell.

21. A coole mouth and warme feet live long.

22. A horse made, and a man to make.

23. Looke not for muske in a dogge's kennell.

24. Not a long day, but a good heart, rids worke.

25. He puls with a long rope that waights for another's death.

26. Great strokes make not sweete musick.

27. A caske and an ill custome must be broken.

28. A fat housekeeper makes leane executors.

29. Empty chambers make foolish maides.

30. The gentle hawke halfe mans her selfe.

31. The devill is not alwaies at one doore.

32. When a friend askes, there is no to-morrow.

33. God sends cold according to cloathes.

34. One sound blow wil serve to undo us all.

35. He looseth nothing that looseth not God.

36. The German's wit is in his fingers.

37. At dinner my man appeares.

38. Who gives to all denies all.

39. Quick beleevers neede broad shoulders.

40. Who remove stones bruise their fingers.

[Benefits please like flowers while they are fresh.]

[Between the businesse of life and the day of death a space ought to be interposed.]

41. All came from and will goe to others.

42. He that will take the bird must not skare it.

43. He lives unsafely that lookes too neere on things.

44. A gentle houswife marres the houshold. well-born

45. A crooked log makes a strait fire.

46. He hath great neede of a foole that plaies the foole himselfe.

47. A marchant that gaines not, looseth.

48. Let not him that feares feathers come among wild-foule.

49. Love and a cough cannot be hid.

50. A dwarfe on a gyant's shoulder sees further of the two.

51. Hee that sends a foole means to follow him.

52. Brabling curres never want sore ears.

53. Better the feet slip then the tongue.

54. For washing his hands none sels his lands.

55. A lyon's skin is never cheape.

56. The goate must browse where she is tyed.

[Nothing is to be presumed on or despaired of.]

57. Who hath a wolfe for his mate needes a dog for his man.

58. In a good house all is quickly ready.

59. A bad dog never sees the wolfe.

60. God oft hath a great share in a little house.

61. Ill ware is never cheape.

62. A cherefull looke makes a dish a feast.

63. If all fooles had bables[2] wee should want fuell.

64. Vertue never growes old.

65. Evening words are not like to morning.

66. Were there no fooles, badd ware would not passe.

67. Never had ill workeman good tooles.

68. Hee stands not surely that never slips.

69. Were there no hearers there would be no backbiters.

70. Every thing is of use to a houskeeper.

71. When prayers are done my lady is ready.

[Cities seldome change religion only.]

72. At length the fox turnes monk.

73. Flies are busiest about leane horses.

74. Hearken to Reason, or shee will bee heard.

75. The bird loves her nest.

76. Every thing new, is fine.

77. When a dog is a-drowning every one offers him drink.

78. Better a bare foot then none.

79. Who is so deafe as he that will not heare?

80. He that is warme thinkes all so.

81. At length the fox is brought to the furrier.

82. Hee that goes barefoot must not plant thornes.

83. They that are booted are not alwaies ready.

84. He that will learne to pray let him go to sea.

85. In spending, lies the advantage.

86. He that lives well is learned enough.

87. Ill vessels seldome miscarry.

88. A full belly neither fights nor flies well.

89. All truths are not to be told.

90. An old wise man's shaddow is better then a young buzzard's[3] sword.

91. Noble housekeepers neede no dores.

92. Every ill man hath his ill day.

93. Sleepe without supping, and wake without owing.

94. I gave the mouse a hole, and she is become my heire.

95. Assaile who will, the valiant attends.

96. Whither goest, griefe? Where I am wont.

97. Praise day at night and life at the end.

98. Whither shall the oxe goe where he shall not labour?

99. Where you thinke there is bacon there is no chimney.

100. Mend your cloathes, and you may hold out this yeare.

101. Presse a stick and it seemes a youth.

102. The tongue walkes where the teeth speede not.

103. A faire wife and a frontire[4] castle breede quarrels.

104. Leave jesting whiles it pleaseth, lest it turne to earnest.

105. Deceive not thy physitian, confessor, nor lawyer.

106. Ill natures, the more you aske them the more they stick.

107. Vertue and a trade are the best portion for children.

108. The chicken is the countrie's, but the citie eateth it.

109. He that gives thee a capon give him the leg and the wing.

110. Hee that lives ill, feare followes him.

111. Give a clowne your finger and he will take your hand.

112. Good is to bee sought out, and evill attended.

113. A good paymaster starts not at assurances.

114. No alchymy to saving.

115. To a gratefull man give mony when he asks.

116. Who would doe ill ne're wants occasion.

117. To fine folkes, a little ill finely wrapt.

118. A child correct behind and not before.

119. To a faire day open the window, but make you ready as to a foule.

120. Keepe good men company, and you shall be of the number.

121. No love to a father's.

122. The mill gets by going.

123. To a boyling pot flies come not.

124. Make hast to an ill way, that you may get out of it.

125. A snow yeare a rich yeare.

126. Better to be blinde then to see ill.

127. Learne weeping, and thou shalt laugh gayning.

128. Who hath no more bread then neede must not keepe a dog.

129. A garden must be lookt unto and drest as the body.

130. The fox, when hee cannot reach the grapes, saies they are not ripe.

131. Water trotted[5] is as good as oats.

132. Though the mastiffe be gentle,[6] yet bite him not by the lippe.

133. Though a lie be well drest it is ever overcome.

134. Though old and wise, yet still advise.

135. Three helping one another beare the burthen of sixe.

[Slander is a shipwrack by a dry tempest.]

136. Old wine and an old friend are good provisions.

137. Happy is hee that chastens himselfe.

138. Well may hee smell fire whose gowne burnes.

139. The wrongs of a husband or master are not reproached.

140. Welcome evill, if thou commest alone.

141. Love your neighbour, yet pull not downe your hedge.

142. The bit that one eates no friend makes.

143. A drunkard's purse is a bottle.

144. Shee spins well that breedes her children.

145. Good is the mora[7] that makes all sure.

146. Play with a foole at home, and he will play with you in the market.

147. Every one stretcheth his legges according to his coverlet.

148. Autumnall agues are long or mortall.

149. Marry your sonne when you will, your daughter when you can.

150. Dally not with mony or women.

151. Men speake of the Faire as things went with them there.

152. The best remedy against an ill man is much ground betweene both.

153. The mill cannot grind with water that's past.

154. Corn is cleaned with winde, and the soule with chastnings.

155. Good words are worth much, and cost little.[8]

156. To buy deare is not bounty.

157. Jest not with the eye or with religion.

158. The eye and religion can beare no jesting.

159. Without favour none will know you, and with it you will not know yourselfe.

160. Buy at a Faire, but sell at home.

161. Cover yourselfe with your shield, and care not for cryes.

162. A wicked man's gift hath a touch of his master.

163. None is a foole alwaies, every one sometimes.

164. From a chollerick man withdraw a little; from him that saies nothing, for ever.

165. Debters are lyers.

166. Of all smells, bread; of all tasts, salt.

167. In a great river great fish are found, but take heede lest you be drowned.

168. Ever since we weare cloathes we know not one another.

169. God heales, and the physitian hath the thankes.

170. Hell is full of good meanings and wishings.

171. Take heede of still waters, the quick passe away.

172. After the house is finisht leave it.

173. Our owne actions are our security, not others' judgements.

174. Thinke of ease, but worke on.

175. Hee that lies long a-bed his estate feeles it.

176. Whether you boyle snow or pound it you can have but water of it.

177. One stroke fells not an oke.

178. God complaines not, but doth what is fitting.

179. A diligent scholler, and the master's paid.

180. Milke saies to wine, 'Welcome, friend.'

181. They that know one another salute afarre off.

182. Where there is no honour there is no griefe.

183. Where the drink goes in there the wit goes out.

184. He that staies does the businesse.

185. Almes never make poore. Others :[9]

186. Great almesgiving lessens no man's living.

187. Giving much to the poore doth inrich a man's store.

188. It takes much from the account to which his sin doth amount.

189. It adds to the glory both of soule and body.

190. Ill comes in by ells and goes out by inches.

191. The smith and his penny both are black.

192. Whose house is of glasse must not throw stones at another.

193. If the old dog barke he gives counsell.

194. The tree that growes slowly keepes itselfe for another.

195. I wept when I was borne, and every day shewes why.

196. Hee that lookes not before finds himself behind.

197. He that plaies his mony ought not to value it.

198. He that riseth first is first drest.

199. Diseases of the eye are to bee cured with the elbow.

200. The hole calls the thiefe.

201. A gentleman's grayhound and a salt-box, seeke them at the fire.

202. A child's service is little, yet hee is no little foole that despiseth it.

203. The river past, and God forgotten.

204. Evils have their comfort; good none can support (to wit) with a moderate and contented heart.

205. Who must account for himselfe and others must know both.

206. Hee that eats the hard shall eate the ripe.

207. The miserable man maketh a peny of a farthing, and the liberall of a farthing sixepence.

208. The honey is sweet, but the bee stings.

209. Waight and measure take away strife.

210. The sonne full and tattered, the daughter empty and fine.

211. Every path hath a puddle.

212. In good yeares corne is hay, in ill yeares straw is corne.

213. Send a wise man on an errand, and say nothing unto him.

214. In life you lov'd me not, in death you bewaile me.

215. Into a mouth shut flies flie not.

216. The heart's letter is read in the eyes.

217. The ill that comes out of our mouth falles into our bosome.

218. In great pedigrees there are governours and chandlers.

219. In the house of a fidler all fiddle.

220. Sometimes the best gaine is to lose.

221. Working and making a fire doth discretion require.

222. One graine fills not a sacke, but helpes his fellowes.

223. It is a great victory that comes without blood.

224. In war, hunting, and love, men for one pleasure a thousand griefes prove.

225. Reckon right, and February hath one and thirty daies.

226. Honour without profit is a ring on the finger.

227. Estate in two parishes is bread in two wallets.

228. Honour and profit lie not in one sacke.

229. A naughty child is better sick then whole.

230. Truth and oyle are ever above.

231. He that riseth betimes hath something in his head.

232. Advise none to marry or goe to warre.

233. To steale the hog and give the feet for almes.

234. The thorne comes forth with his point forwards.

235. One hand washeth another, and both the face.

236. The fault of the horse is put on the saddle.

237. The corne hides itself in the snow as an old man in furrs.

238. The Jewes spend at Easter, the Mores[10] at marriages, the Christians in sutes.

239. Fine dressing is a foule house swept before the doores.

240. A woman and a glasse are ever in danger.

241. An ill wound is cured, not an ill name.

242. The wise hand doth not all that the foolish mouth speakes.

243. On painting and fighting looke aloofe.

244. Knowledge is folly except grace guide it.

245. Punishment is lame, but it comes.

246. The more women looke in their glasse, the lesse they looke to their house.

247. A long tongue is a signe of a short hand.

248. Marry a widdow before she leave mourning.

249. The worst of law is that one suit breedes twenty.

250. Providence is better then a rent.

251. What your glasse telles you will not be told by councell.

252. There are more men threatned then stricken.

253. A foole knowes more in his house then a wise man in another's.

254. I had rather ride on an asse that carries me then a horse that throwes me.

255. The hard gives more then he that hath nothing.

256. The beast that goes alwaies never wants blowes.

257. Good cheape is deare.

258. It costs more to doe ill then to doe well.

259. Good words quench more then a bucket of water.

260. An ill agreement is better then a good judgement.

261. There is more talke then trouble.

262. Better spare to have of thine own then aske of other men.

263. Better good afarre off then evill at hand.

264. Feare keeps the garden better then the gardiner.

265. I had rather aske of my fire browne bread then borrow of my neighbour white.

266. Your pot broken seemes better then my whole one.

267. Let an ill man lie in thy straw, and he lookes to be thy heire.

268. By suppers more have beene killed then Gallen ever cured.

269. While the discreet advise, the foole doth his busines.

270. A mountaine and a river are good neighbours.

271. Gossips are frogs, they drinke and talke.

272. Much spends the traveller more then the abider.

273. Prayers and provender hinder no journey.

274. A well-bred youth neither speakes of himselfe, nor, being spoken to, is silent.

275. A journying woman speakes much of all, and all of her.

276. The fox knowes much, but more he that catcheth him.

277. Many friends in generall, one in speciall.

278. The foole askes much, but hee is more foole that grants it.

279. Many kisse the hand they wish cut off.

280. Neither bribe nor loose thy right.

281. In the world who knowes not to swimme goes to the bottome.

282. Chuse not a house neere an inne (viz. for noise), or in a corner (for filth).

283. Hee is a foole that thinks not that another thinks.

284. Neither eyes on letters nor hands in coffers.

285. The lyon is not so fierce as they paint him.

286. Goe not for every griefe to the physitian, nor for every quarrell to the lawyer, nor for every thirst to the pot.

287. Good service is a great inchantment.

288. There would bee no great ones if there were no little ones.

289. It's no sure rule to fish with a cros-bow.

290. There were no ill language if it were not ill taken.

291. The groundsell[11] speakes not, save what it heard at the hinges.

292. The best mirrour is an old friend.

293. Say no ill of the yeere till it be past.

294. A man's discontent is his worst evill.

295. Feare nothing but sinne.

296. The child saies nothing but what it heard by the fire.

297. Call me not an olive till thou see me gathered.

298. That is not good language which all understand not.

299. He that burnes his house warmes himselfe for once.

300. He will burne his house to warme his hands.

301. Hee will spend a whole yeare's rent at one meale's meate.

302. All is not gold that glisters.

303. A blustering night, a faire day.

304. Be not idle, and you shall not bee longing.

305. He is not poore that hath little, but he that desireth much.

306. Let none say I will not drinke water.

307. Hee wrongs not an old man that steales his supper from him.

308. The tongue talkes at the head's cost.

309. Hee that strikes with his tongue must ward with his head.

310. Keep not ill men company, lest you increase the number.

311. God strikes not with both hands, for to the sea He made havens, and to rivers foords.

312. A rugged stone growes smooth from hand to hand.

313. No lock will hold against the power of gold.

314. The absent partie is still faultie.

315. Peace and patience and death with repentance.

316. If you loose your time you cannot get mony nor gaine.

317. Be not a baker if your head be of butter.

318. Aske much to have a little.

319. Little stickes kindle the fire, great ones put it out.

320. Another's bread costs deare.

321. Although it raine, throw not away thy watering-pot.

322. Although the sun shine, leave not thy cloake at home.

323. A little with quiet is the onely dyet.

324. In vaine is the mill-clacke if the miller his hearing lack.

325. By the needle you shall draw the thread, and by that which is past see how that which is to come will be drawne on.

326. Stay a little, and news will find you.

327. Stay till the lame messenger come, if you will know the truth of the thing.

328. When God will, no winde but brings raine.

329. Though you rise early, yet the day comes at his time, and not till then.

330. Pull downe your hatt on the wind's side.

331. As the yeere is, your pot must seeth.

332. Since you know all and I nothing, tell me what I dreamed last night.

333. When the foxe preacheth, beware geese.

334. When you are an anvill, hold you still; when you are a hammer, strike your fill.

335. Poore and liberall, rich and covetous.

336. He that makes his bed ill, lies there.

337. Hee that labours and thrives, spins gold.

338. He that sowes trusts in God.

339. Hee that lies with the dogs riseth with fleas.

340. He that repaires not a part, builds all.

341. A discontented man knowes not where to sit easie.

342. Who spits against heaven, it falls in his face.

343. He that dines and leaves layes the cloth twice.

344. Who eates his cock alone must saddle his horse alone.

345. He that is not handsome at twenty, nor strong at thirty, nor rich at forty, nor wise at fifty, will never bee handsome, strong, rich, or wise.

346. Hee that doth what he will doth not what he ought.

347. Hee that will deceive the fox must rise betimes.

348. He that lives well sees afarre off.

349. He that hath a mouth of his owne must not say to another, 'Blow.'

350. He that will be served must bee patient.

351. He that gives thee a bone would not have thee die.

352. He that chastens one chastens twenty.

353. He that hath lost his credit is dead to the world.

354. He that hath no ill fortune is troubled with good.

355. Hee that demands misseth not, unlesse his demands be foolish.

356. He that hath no hony in his pot let him have it in his mouth.

357. He that takes not up a pin slights his wife.

358. He that owes nothing, if he makes not mouthes at us, is courteous.

359. Hee that looseth his due gets not thankes.

360. He that beleeveth all misseth; hee that beleeveth nothing hitts not.

361. Pardons and pleasantnesse are great revenges of slanders.

362. A married man turns his staffe into a stake.

363. If you would know secrets, looke them in griefe or pleasure.

364. Serve a noble disposition, though poore, the time comes that hee will repay thee.

365. The fault is as great as hee that is faulty.

366. If folly were griefe, every house would weepe.

367. Hee that would bee well old must bee old betimes.

368. Sit in your place, and none can make you rise.

369. If you could runne as you drinke, you might catch a hare.

370. Would you know what mony is, go borrow some.

371. The morning sunne never lasts a day.

372. Thou hast death in thy house, and dost bewaile another's.

373. All griefes with bread are lesse.

374. All things require skill but an appetite.

375. All things have their place, knew wee how to place them.

376. Little pitchers have wide eares.

377. We are fooles one to another.

378. This world is nothing except it tend to another.

379. There are three waies—the vniversities, the sea, the court.

380. God comes to see without a bell.

381. Life without a friend is death without a witnesse.

382. Cloath thee in warre, arm thee in peace.

383. The horse thinkes one thing, and he that sadles him another.

384. Mills and wives ever want.

385. The dog that licks ashes trust not with meale.

386. The buyer needes a hundred eyes, the seller not one.

387. He carries well to whom it waighes not.

388. The comforter's head never akes.

389. Step after step the ladder is ascended.

390. Who likes not the drinke, God deprives him of bread.

391. To a crazy ship all windes are contrary.

392. Justice pleaseth few in their owne house.

393. In times comes he whom God sends.

394. Water afarre off quencheth not fire.

395. In sports and journeys men are knowne.

396. An old friend is a new house.

397. Love is not found in the market.

398. Dry feet, warme head, bring safe to bed.

399. Hee is rich enough that wants nothing.

400. One father is enough to governe one hundred sons, but not a hundred sons one father.

401. Farre shooting never kild bird.

402. An upbraided morsell never choaked any.

403. Dearths foreseene come not.

404. An ill labourer quarrells with his tooles.

405. He that falles into the durt, the longer he stayes there the fowler he is.

406. He that blames would buy.

407. He that sings on Friday will weepe on Sunday.

408. The charges of building and making of gardens are unknowne.

409. My house, my house, though thou art small, thou art to me the Escuriall.[12]

410. A hundred loade of thought will not pay one of debts.

411. Hee that comes of a hen must scrape.

412. He that seekes trouble never misses.

413. He that once deceives is ever suspected.

414. Being on sea, saile; being on land, settle.

415. Who doth his owne businesse foules not his hands.

416. Hee that makes a good warre makes a good peace.

417. He that workes after his owne manner, his head akes not at the matter.

418. Who hath bitter in his mouth spits not all sweet.

419. He that hath children, all his morsels are not his owne.

420. He that hath the spice may season as he list.

421. He that hath a head of waxe must not walke in the sunne.

422. He that hath love in his brest hath spurres in his sides.

423. Hee that respects not is not respected.

424. Hee that hath a fox for his mate hath needs of a net at his girdle.

425. Hee that hath right, feares; he that hath wrong, hopes.

426. Hee that hath patience hath fat thrushes for a farthing.

427. Never was strumpet faire.

428. He that measures not himselfe is measured.

429. Hee that hath one hogge makes him fat; and hee that hath one son makes him a foole.

430. Who lets his wife goe to every feast, and his horse drinke at every water, shall neither have good wife nor good horse.

431. He that speakes sowes, and he that holds his peace gathers.

432. He that hath little is the lesse durty.

433. He that lives most dies most.

434. He that hath one foot in the straw hath another in the Spittle.[13]

435. He that's fed at another's hand may stay long ere he be full.

436. Hee that makes a thing too fine breakes it.

437. Hee that bewailes himselfe hath the cure in his hands.

438. He that would be well needs not goe from his owne house.

439. Councell breakes not the head.

440. Fly the pleasure that bites to-morrow.

441. Hee that knowes what may bee gained in a day never steales.

442. Mony refused looseth its brightnesse.

443. Health and mony goe far.

444. Where your will is ready your feete are light.

445. A great ship askes deepe waters.

446. Woe to the house where there is no chiding.

447. Take heede of the viniger of sweet wine.

448. Fooles bite one another, but wise men agree together.

449. Trust not one night's ice.

450. Good is good, but better carries it.

451. To gaine teacheth how to spend.

452. Good finds good.

453. The dog gnawes the bone because he cannot swallow it.

454. The crow bewailes the sheepe, and then eates it.

455. Building is a sweet impoverishing.

456. The first degree of folly is to hold one's selfe wise, the second to professe it, the third to despise counsell.

457. The greatest step is that out of doores.

458. To weepe for joy is a kinde of manna.

459. The first service a child doth his father is to make him foolish.

460. The resolved minde hath no cares.

461. In the kingdome of a cheater the wallet is carried before.

462. The eye will have his part.

463. The good mother sayes not, 'Will you?' but gives.

464. A house and a woman sute excellently.

465. In the kingdome of blind men the one-ey'd is king.

466. A little kitchin makes a large house.

467. Warre makes theeves, and peace hangs them.

468. Poverty is the mother of health.

469. In the morning mountaines, in the evening fountaines.

470. The back-doore robs the house.

471. Wealth is like rheume, it falles on the weakest parts.

472. The gowne is his that weares it, and the world his that enjoyes it.

473. Hope is the poore man's bread.

474. Vertue now is in herbs, and stones, and words onely.

475. Fine words dresse ill deedes.

476. Labour as long-liu'd, pray as even dying.

477. A poore beauty finds more lovers then husbands.

478. Discreet women have neither eyes nor eares.

479. Things well fitted abide.

480. Prettinesse dies first.

481. Talking payes no toll.

482. The master's eye fattens the horse, and his foote the ground.

483. Disgraces are like cherries, one drawes another.

484. Praise a hill, but keepe below.

485. Praise the sea, but keepe on land.

486. In chusing a wife and buying a sword we ought not to trust another.

487. The wearer knowes where the shoe wrings.[14]

488. Faire is not faire, but that which pleaseth.

489. There is no jollitie but hath a smack of folly.

490. He that's long a-giving knowes not how to give.

491. The filth under the white snow the sunne discovers.

492. Every one fastens where there is gaine.

493. All feete tread not in one shoe.

494. Patience, time, and money accommodate all things.

495. For want of a naile the shoe is lost, for want of a shoe the horse is lost, for want of a horse the rider is lost.

496. Weigh[15] justly and sell dearely.

497. Little wealth, little care.

498. Little journeys and good cost bring safe home.

499. Gluttony kills more then the sword.

500. When children stand quiet they have done some ill.

501. A little and good fills the trencher.

502. A penny spar'd is twice got.

503. When a knave is in a plum-tree he hath neither friend nor kin.

504. Short boughs, long vintage.

505. Health without money is halfe an ague.

506. If the wise erred not, it would goe hard with fooles.

507. Beare with evill, and expect good.

508. He that tells a secret is another's servant.

509. If all fooles wore white caps, wee should seeme a flock of geese.

510. Water, fire, and souldiers quickly make roome.

511. Pension never inriched young man.

512. Vnder water famine, under snow bread.

513. The lame goes as farre as your staggerer.

514. He that looseth is marchant as well as he that gaines.

515. A jade[16] eates as much as a good horse.

516. All things in their beeing are good for something.

517. One flower makes no garland.

518. A faire death honours the whole life.

519. One enemy is too much.

520. Living well is the best revenge.

521. One foole makes a hundred.

522. One paire of eares drawes dry a hundred tongues.

523. A foole may throw a stone into a well, which a hundred wise men cannot pull out.

524. One slumber finds another.

525. On a good bargaine thinke twice.

526. To a good spender God is the treasurer.

527. A curst cow hath short hornes.

528. Musick helps not the tooth-ach.

529. We cannot come to honour under coverlet.

530. Great paines quickly find ease.

531. To the counsell of fooles a woodden bell.

532. The cholerick man never wants woe.

533. Helpe thyselfe, and God will helpe thee.

534. At the game's end we shall see who gaines.

535. There are many waies to fame.

536. Love is the true price of love.

537. Love rules his kingdome without a sword.

538. Love makes all hard hearts gentle.

539. Love makes a good eye squint.

540. Love askes faith, and faith firmenesse.

541. A scepter is one thing, and a ladle another.

542. Great trees are good for nothing but shade.

543. Hee commands enough that obeys a wise man.

544. Faire words makes mee look to my purse.

545. Though the fox run the chicken hath wings.

546. He plaies well that winnes.

547. You must strike in measure when there are many to strike on one anvile.

548. The shortest answer is, doing.

549. It's a poor stake that cannot stand one yeare in the ground.

550. He that commits a fault thinkes every one speakes of it.

551. He that's foolish in the fault let him be wise in the punishment.

552. The blind eate many a flie.

553. He that can make a fire well can end a quarrell.

554. The tooth-ach is more ease then to deale with ill people.

555. Hee that should have what hee hath not should doe what he doth not.

556. He that hath no good trade it is to his losse.

557. The offender never pardons.

558. He that lives not well one yeare sorrowes seven after.

559. He that hopes not for good feares not evill.

560. He that is angry at a feast is rude.

561. He that mockes a cripple ought to be whole.

562. When the tree is fallen all goe with their hatchet.

563. He that hath hornes in his bosom let him not put them on his head.

564. He that burnes most shines most.

565. He that trusts in a lie shall perish in truth.

566. Hee that blowes in the dust fills his eyes with it.

567. Bells call others, but themselves enter not into the church.

568. Of faire things the autumne is faire.

569. Giving is dead, restoring very sicke.

570. A gift much expected is paid, not given.

571. Two ill meales make the third a glutton.

572. The royall crowne cures not the head-ach.

573. 'Tis hard to be wretched, but worse to be knowne so.

574. A feather in hand is better then a bird in the ayre.

575. It's better to be head of a lyzard then the tayle of a lyon.

576. Good and quickly seldome meete.

577. Folly growes without watering.

578. Happier are the hands compast with yron then a heart with thoughts.

579. If the staffe be crooked the shadow cannot be straight.

580. To take the nuts from the fire with the dogge's foot.

581. He is a foole that makes a wedge of his fist.

582. Valour that parlies is neare yeelding.

583. Thursday come and the week's gone.

584. A flatterer's throat is an open sepulcher.

585. There is great force hidden in a sweet command.

586. The command of custome is great.

587. To have money is a feare, not to have it a griefe.

588. The catt sees not the mouse ever.

589. Little dogs start the hare, the great get her.

590. Willowes are weak, yet they bind other wood.

591. A good prayer[17] is master of Another's purse.

592. The thread breakes were it is weakest.

593. Old men, when they scorne young, make much of death.

594. God is at the end when we thinke He is furthest off it.

595. A good judge conceives quickly, judges slowly.

596. Rivers neede a spring.

597. He that contemplates hath a day without night.

598. Give loosers leave to talke.

599. Losse embraceth shame.

600. Gaming, women, and wine, while they laugh, they make men pine.

601. The fatt man knoweth not what the leane thinketh.

602. Wood halfe burnt is easily kindled.

603. The fish adores the bait.

604. He that goeth farre hath many encounters.

605. Every bee's hony is sweet.

606. The slothfull is the servant of the counters.

607. Wisdome hath one foot on land and another on sea.

608. The thought hath good leggs, and the quill a good tongue.

609. A wise man needes not blush for changing his purpose.

610. The March sunne raises, but dissolves not.

611. Time is the rider that breakes youth.

612. The wine in the bottell doth not quench thirst.

613. The sight of a man hath the force of a lyon.

614. An examin'd enterprise goes on boldly.

615. In every art it is good to have a master.

616. In every countrey dogges bite.

617. In every countrey the sun rises in the morning.

618. A noble plant suites not with a stubborne ground.

619. You may bring a horse to the river, but he will drinke when and what he pleaseth.

620. Before you make a friend eate a bushell of salt with him.

621. Speake fitly, or be silent wisely.

622. Skill and confidence are an unconquered army.

623. I was taken by a morsell, saies the fish.

624. A disarmed peace is weake.

625. The ballance distinguisheth not betweene gold and lead.

626. The perswasion of the fortunate swaies the doubtfull.

627. To bee beloved is above all bargaines.

628. To deceive one'selfe is very easie.

629. The reasons of the poore weigh not.

630. Perversenes makes one squint-ey'd.

631. The evening praises the day, and the morning a frost.

632. The table robbes more then a thiefe.

633. When age is jocond it makes sport for death.

634. True praise rootes and spreedes.

635. Feares are divided in the midst.

636. The soule needs few things, the body many.

637. Astrologie is true, but the astrologers cannot finde it.

638. Ty it well, and let it goe.

639. Emptie vessels sound most.

640. Send not a catt for lard.

641. Foolish tongues talke by the dozen.

642. Love makes one fitt for any work.

643. A pitifull mother makes a scald head.

644. An old physitian and a young lawyer.

645. Talke much and erre much, saies the Spanyard.

646. Some make a conscience of spitting in the church, yet robbe the altar.

647. An idle head is a boxe[18] for the winde.

648. Show me a lyer, and I'le shew thee a theefe.

649. A beane in liberty is better then a comfit in prison.

650. None is borne master.

651. Shew a good man his errour, and he turns it to a vertue; but an ill, it doubles his fault.

652. None is offended but by himselfe.

653. None saies his garner is full.

654. In the husband wisedome, in the wife gentlenesse.

655. Nothing dries sooner then a teare.

656. In a leopard the spotts are not observed.

657. Nothing lasts but the Church.

658. A wise man cares not for what he cannot have.

659. It's not good fishing before the net.

660. He cannot be vertuous that is not rigorous.

661. That which will not be spun, let it not come between the spindle and the distaffe.

662. When my house burnes, it's not good playing at chesse.

663. No barber shaves so close but another finds worke.

664. Ther's no great banquet but some fares ill.

665. A holy habit[19] clenseth not a foule soule.

666. Forbeare not sowing because of birds.

667. Mention not a halter in the house of him that was hanged.

668. Speake not of a dead man at the table.

669. A hatt is not made for one showre.

670. No sooner is a temple built to God but the devill builds a chappell hard by.[20]

671. Every one puts his fault on the times.

672. You cannot make a wind-mill goe with a paire of bellowes.

673. Pardon all but thyselfe.

674. Every one is weary: the poore in seeking, the rich in keeping, the good in learning.

675. The escaped mouse ever feeles the taste of the bait.

676. A little wind kindles, much puts out the fire.

677. Dry bread at home is better then rost meate abroad.

678. More have repented speech then silence.

679. The covetous spends more then the liberall.

680. Divine ashes are better then earthly meale.

681. Beauty drawes more then oxen.

682. One father is more then a hundred schoolemasters.

683. One eye of the master's sees more then ten of the servant's.

684. When God will punish, He will first take away the understanding.

685. A little labour, much health.

686. When it thunders the theefe becomes honest.

687. The tree that God plants no winde hurts it.

688. Knowledge is no burden.

689. It's a bold mouse that nestles in the catt's eare.

690. Long jesting was never good.

691. If a good man thrive, all thrive with him.

692. If the mother had not beene in the oven, shee had never sought her daughter there.

693. If great men would have care of little ones, both would last long.

694. Though you see a churchman ill,[21] yet continue in the Church still.

695. Old praise dies unlesse you feede it.

696. If things were to be done twice, all would be wise.

697. Had you the world on your chessbord, you could not fill all to your mind.

698. Suffer and expect.

699. If fooles should not foole it, they shall loose their season.

700. Love and businesse teach eloquence.

701. That which two will takes effect.

702. He complaines wrongfully on the sea that twice suffers shipwrack.

703. He is onely bright that shines by himselfe.

704. A valiant man's looke is more then a coward's sword.

705. The effect speakes, the tongue needes not.

706. Divine grace was never slow.

707. Reason lies betweene the spurre and the bridle.

708. It's a proud horse that will not carry his owne provender.

709. Three women make a market.

710. Three can hold their peace if two be away.

711. It's an ill councell that hath no escape.

712. All our pompe the earth covers.

713. To whirle the eyes too much shewes a kite's braine.

714. Comparisons are odious.[22]

715. All keyes hang not on one girdle.

716. Great businesses turne on a little pinne.

717. The wind in one's face makes one wise.

718. All the armes of England will not arme Feare.

719. One sword keepes another in the sheath.

720. Be what thou wouldst seeme to be.

721. Let all live as they would die.

722. A gentle heart is tyed with an easie thread.

723. Sweet discourse makes short daies and nights.

724. God provides for him that trusteth.

725. He that will not have peace God gives him warre.

726. To him that will waies are not wanting.

727. To a great night[23] a great lanthorne.

728. To a child all weather is cold.

729. Where there is peace, God is.

730. None is so wise but the foole overtakes him.

731. Fooles give to please all but their owne.

732. Prosperity lets goe the bridle.

733. The frier preached against stealing, and had a goose in his sleeve.

734. To be too busie gets contempt.

735. February makes a bridge, and March breakes it.

736. A horse stumbles that hath foure legs.

737. The best smell is bread, the best savour salt, the best love that of children.

738. That's the best gowne that goes up and downe the house.

739. The market is the best garden.

740. The first dish pleaseth all.

741. The higher the ape goes, the more he shewes his taile.

742. Night is the mother of councels.

743. God's mill grinds slow but sure.

744. Every one thinkes his sacke heaviest.

745. Drought never brought dearth.

746. All complaine.

747. Gamsters and race-horses never last long.

748. It's a poore sport that's not worth the candle.

749. He that is fallen cannot helpe him that is downe.

750. Every one is witty for his owne purpose.

751. A little lett lets an ill workeman.[24]

752. Good workemen are seldome rich.

753. By doing nothing we learne to do ill.

754. A great dowry is a bed full of brables.[25]

755. No profit to honour, no honour to religion.

756. Every sin brings its punishment with it.

757. Of him that speakes ill consider the life more then the words.

758. You cannot hide an ecle in a sacke.

759. Give not S. Peter so much, to leave Saint Paul nothing.

760. You cannot flea a stone.

761. The chiefe disease that raignes this yeare is folly.

762. A sleepy master makes his servant a lowt.

763. Better speake truth rudely then lye covertly.

764. He that feares leaves let him not goe into the wood.

765. One foote is better then two crutches.

766. Better suffer ill then doe ill.

767. Neither praise nor dispraise thyselfe; thy actions serve the turne.

768. Soft and faire goes farre.

769. The constancy of the benefit of the yeere in their seasons argues a deity.

770. Praise none too much, for all are fickle.

771. It's absurd to warme one in his armour.

772. Law-sutes consume time and mony and rest and friends.

773. Nature drawes more then ten teemes.[26]

774. Hee that hath a wife and children wants not businesse.

775. A shippe and a woman are ever repairing.

776. He that feares death lives not.

777. He that pitties another remembers himselfe.

778. He that doth what he should not shall feele what he would not.

779. He that marries for wealth sells his liberty.

780. He that once hits is ever bending.

781. He that serves must serve.

782. He that lends gives.

783. He that preacheth giveth almes.

784. He that cockers his child provides for his enemie.

785. A pitifull looke askes enough.

786. Who will sell the cow must say the word.

787. Service is no inheritance.

788. The faulty stands on his guard.

789. A kinsman, a friend, or whom you intreate, take not to serve you, if you wil be served neately.

790. At court every one for himselfe.

791. To a crafty man a crafty and an halfe.

792. Hee that is throwne would ever wrestle.

793. He that serves well needes not ask his wages.

794. Faire language grates not the tongue.

795. A good heart cannot lye.

796. Good swimmers at length are drowned.

797. Good land, evill way.

798. In doing we learne.

799. It's good walking with a horse in one's hand.

800. God and parents and our master can never be requited.

801. An ill deede cannot bring honour.

802. A small heart hath small desires.

803. All are not merry that dance lightly.

804. Curtesie on one side only lasts not long.

805. Wine-counsels seldome prosper.

806. Weening[27] is not measure.

807. The best of the sport is to doe the deede and say nothing.

808. If thou thyselfe canst doe it, attend no other's help or hand.

809. Of a little thing a little displeaseth.

810. He warmes too neere that burnes.

811. God keepe me from foure houses—an vsurer's, a taverne, a Spittle, and a prison.

812. In hundred elles of contention there is not an inch of love.

813. Do what thou oughtest, and come what come can.

814. Hunger makes dinners, pastime suppers.

815. In a long journey straw waighs.

816. Women laugh when they can and weepe when they will.

817. Warre is Death's feast.

818. Set good against evill.

819. Hee that brings good newes knockes hard.

820. Beate the dog before the lyon.

821. Hast comes not alone.

822. You must loose a flie to catch a trout.

823. Better a snotty child then his nose wip'd off.

824. No prison is faire nor love foule.[28]

825. Hee is not free that drawes his chaine.

826. Hee goes not out of his way that goes to a good inne.

827. There come[s] nought out of the sacke but what was there.

828. A little given seasonably excuses a great gift.

829. Hee looks not well to himselfe that lookes not ever.

830. He thinkes not well that thinkes not againe.

831. Religion, credit, and the eye are not to be touched.

832. The tongue is not steele, yet it cuts.

833. A white wall is the paper of a foole.

834. They talke of Christmas so long that it comes.

835. That is gold which is worth gold.

836. It's good tying the sack before it be full.

837. Words are women, deedes are men.

838. Poverty is no sinne.

839. A stone in a well is not lost.

840. He can give little to his servant that lickes his knife.

841. Promising is the eve of giving.

842. Hee that keepes his owne makes warre.

843. The wolfe must dye in his owne skinne.

844. Goods are theirs that enjoy them.

845. He that sends a foole expects one.

846. He that can stay obtaines.

847. He that gaines well and spends well needes no account-booke.

848. He that endures is not overcome.

849. He that gives all before hee dies provides to suffer.

850. He that talkes much of his happinesse summons griefe.

851. Hee that loves the tree loves the branch.

852. Who hastens a glutton choakes him.

853. Who praiseth Saint Peter doth not blame Saint Paul.

854. He that hath not the craft let him shut up shop.

855. He that knowes nothing doubts nothing.

856. Greene wood makes a hott fire.

857. He that marries late marries ill.

858. He that passeth a winter's day escapes an enemy.

859. The rich knowes not who is his friend.

860. A morning sunne and a wine-bred child and a Latin-bred woman seldome end well.

861. To a close shorne sheep God gives wind by measure.[29]

862. A pleasure long expected is deare enough sold.

863. A poore man's cow dies a rich man's child.

864. The cow knowes not what her taile is worth till she have lost it.

865. Chuse a horse made and a wife to make.

866. It's an ill aire where wee gaine nothing.

867. Hee hath not liv'd that lives not after death.

868. So many men in court and so many strangers.

869. He quits his place well that leaves his friend here.

870. That which sufficeth is not little.

871. Good newes may bee told at any time, but ill in the morning.

872. Hee that would be a gentleman let him goe to an assault.

873. Who paies the physitian does the cure.

874. None knows the weight of another's burthen.

875. Every one hath a foole in his sleeve.

876. One houre's sleepe before midnight is worth three after.

877. In a retreat the lame are formost.

878. It's more paine to doe nothing then something.

879. Amongst good men two men suffice.

880. There needs a long time to know the world's pulse.

881. The ofspring of those that are very young or very old lasts not.

882. A tyrant is most tyrant to himselfe.

883. Too much taking heede is losse.

884. Craft against craft makes no living.

885. The reverend are ever before.

886. France is a meddow that cuts thrice a yeere.

887. It is easier to build two chimneys then to maintain one.

888. The court hath no almanack.

889. He that will enter into Paradise must have a good key.

890. When you enter into a house leave the anger ever at the doore.

891. Hee hath no leisure who useth it not.

892. It's a wicked thing to make a dearth one's garner.

893. He that deales in the world needes four seeves.

894. Take heede of an ox before, of an horse behind, of a monke on all sides.

895. The yeare doth nothing else but open and shut.

896. The ignorant hath an eagle's wings and an owle's eyes.

897. There are more physitians in health then drunkards.

898. The wife is the key of the house.

899. The law is not the same at morning and at night.

900. Warre and physicke are governed by the eye.

901. Halfe the world knowes not how the other halfe lies.[30]

902. Death keeps no calender.

903. Ships feare fire more then water.

904. The least foolish is wise.

905. The chiefe boxe[31] of health is time.

906. Silkes and satins put out the fire in the chimney.

907. The first blow is as much as two.

908. The life of man is a winter way.

909. The way is an ill neighbour.

910. An old man's staffe is the rapper[32] of death's door.

911. Life is halfe spent before we know what it is.

912. The singing man keepes his shop in his throate.

913. The body is more drest then the soule.

914. The body is sooner drest then the soule.

915. The physitian owes all to the patient, but the patient owes nothing to him but a little mony.

916. The little cannot bee great, unlesse he devoure many.

917. Time undermines us.

918. The cholerick drinkes, the melancholick eates, the flegmatick sleepes.

919. The apothecarie's morter spoiles the luter's musick.

920. Conversation makes one what he is.

921. The deafe gaines the injury.

922. Yeeres know more then bookes.

923. Wine is a turne-coat—first a friend, then an enemy.

924. Wine ever paies for his lodging.

925. Wine makes all sorts of creatures at table.

926. Wine that cost nothing is digested before it be drunke.

927. Trees eate but once.

928. Armour is light at table.

929. Good horses make short miles.

930. Castles are forrests of stone.

931. The dainties of the great are the teares of the poore.

932. Parsons are soules' waggoners.

933. Children when they are little make parents fooles; when they are great they make them mad.

934. The Mr. absent and the house dead.

935. Dogs are fine in the field.

936. Sinnes are not known till they bee acted.

937. Thornes whiten, yet doe nothing.

938. All are presumed good till they are found in a fault.

939. The great put the little on the hooke.

940. The great would have none great, and the little all little.

941. The Italians are wise before the deede, the Germans in the deede, the French after the deede.

942. Every mile is two in winter.

943. Spectacles are Death's harquebuze.

944. Lawyers' houses are built on the heads of fooles.

945. The house is a fine house when good folkes are within.

946. The best bred have the best portion.

947. The first and last frosts are the worst.

948. Gifts enter every where without a wimble.[33]

949. Princes have no way.

950. Knowledge makes one laugh, but wealth makes one dance.

951. The citizen is at his businesse before he rise.

952. The eyes have one language everywhere.

953. It is better to have wings then hornes.

954. Better be a foole then a knave.

955. Count not fowre, except you have them in a wallett.

956. To live peaceably with all breedes good blood.

957. You may be on land, yet not in a garden.

58. You cannot make the fire so low but it will get out.

959. Wee know not who lives or dies.

960. An oxe is taken by the horns and a man by the tongue.

961. Manie things are lost for want of asking.

962. No churchyard is so handsome that a man would desire straight to bee buried there.

963. Citties are taken by the eares.

964. Once a yeare a man may say, On his conscience.

965. Wee leave more to do when wee dye then wee have done.

966. With customes wee live well, but lawes undoe us.

967. To speake of an vsurer at the table marres the wine.

968. Paines to get, care to keep, feare to lose.

969. For a morning raine leave not your journey.

970. One faire day in winter makes not birds merrie.

971. Hee that learnes a trade hath a purchase made.

972. When all men have what belongs to them it cannot bee much.

973. Though God take the sunne out of the heaven, yet we must have patience.

974. When a man sleepes his head is in his stomach.

975. When one is on horsebacke hee knowes all things.

976. When God is made master of a family He orders the disorderly.

977. When a lackey comes to hell's doore the devils locke the gates.

978. He that is at ease seekes dainties.

979. Hee that hath charge of soules transports them not in bundles.

980. Hee that tells his wife newes is but newly married.

981. Hee that is in a towne in May loseth his Spring.

982. Hee that is in a taverne thinkes he is in a vine-garden.

983. He that praiseth himselfe spattereth himselfe.

984. He that is a master must serve Another.

985. He that is surprized with the first frost feeles it all the winter after.

986. Hee a beast doth die that hath done no good to his country.

987. He that followes the lord hopes to goe before.

988. He that dies without the company of good men puts not himselfe into a good way.

989. Who hath no head needes no hatt.[34]

990. Who hath no hast in his businesse, mountaines to him seeme valleys.

991. Speake not of my debts, unlesse you mean to pay them.

992. He that is not in the warres is not out of danger.

993. He that gives me small gifts would have me live.

994. He that is his owne counsellor knowes nothing sure but what he hath laid out.

995. He that hath lands hath quarrells.

996. Hee that goes to bed thirsty riseth healthy.

997. Who will make a doore of gold must knock a naile every day.

998. A trade is better then service.

999. Hee that lives in hope danceth without musick.

1000. To review one's store is to mow twice.

1001. Saint Luke was a saint and a physitian, yet is dead.

1002. Without businesse, debauchery.

1003. Without danger we cannot get beyónd danger.

1004. Health and sicknesse surely are men's double enemies.

1005. If gold knew what gold is, gold would get gold, I wis.

1006. Little losses amaze, great tame.

1007. Chuse none for thy servant who have served thy betters.

1008. Service without reward is punishment.

1009. If the husband be not at home there is nobodie.

1010. An oath that is not to bee made is not to be kept.

1011. The eye is bigger then the belly.

1012. If you would bee at ease, all the world is not.

1013. Were it not for the bone in the legge, all the world would turn carpenters (to make them crutches).

1014. If you must flie, flie well.

1015. All that shakes falles not.

1016. All beasts of prey are strong or treacherous.

1017. If the braine sowes not corne, it plants thistles.

1018. A man well mounted is ever cholerick.

1019. Every one is a master and servant.

1020. A piece of a church-yard fits every body.

1021. One month[35] doth nothing without another.

1022. A master of straw eates a servant of steel.

1023. An old cat sports not with her prey.

1024. A woman conceales what shee knowes not.

1025. He that wipes the childe's nose kisseth the mother's cheeke.[36]

[Gentility is nothing but ancient riches.

To go where the king goes afoot; *i.e.* to the stool.

To go upon the Franciscans' hackney; *i.e.* on foot.

Amiens was taken by the fox and retaken by the lion.

After death the doctor.

Ready mony is a ready medicine.

It is the philosophy of the distaffe.

It is a sheep of Beery,[37] it is marked on the nose: applyed to those that have a blow.

To build castles in Spain.

An idle youth, a needy age.

Silke doth quench the fire in the kitchin.

The words ending in ique do mocke the physician; as hectique, paralitique, apoplectique, lethargique.

He that trusts much obliges much, says the Spaniard.

He that thinks amiss concludes worse.

A man would live in Italy (a place of pleasure), but he would chuse to dy in Spain, where they say the Catholic religion is professed with greatest strictness.

Whatsoever was the father of a disease, an ill dyet was the mother.

Frenzy, heresie, and jealovsie seldome cured.

There is no heat of affection but is joyned with some idlenesse of brain, says the Spaniard.

The war is not don so long as my enemy lives.

Some evils are cured by contempt.

Power seldome grows old at court.

Danger itselfe the best remedy for danger.

Favour will as surely perish as life.

Feare the bedle[38] of the law.

Heresie is the school of pride.

For the same man to be a heretick and a good subject is incompossible.[39]

Heresie may be easier kept out then shooke off.

Infants' manners are moulded more by the example of parents then by stars at their nativity.

They favour learning whose actions are worthy of a learned pen.

Modesty sets off one newly come to honour.

No naked man is sought after to be rifled.

There's no such conquering weapon as the necessity of conquering.

Nothing secure unlesse suspected.

No tye can oblige the perfidious.

Spies are the ears and eyes of princes.

The life of spies is to know, not bee known.

Religion a stalking-horse to shoot other foul. =fowl

It's a dangerous fire begins in the bed-straw.

Covetousnesse breaks the bag.

Fear keepes and looks to the vineyard, and not the owner.

The noise is greater then the nuts.

Two sparrows on one ear of corn make an ill agreement.

The world is nowadayes, God save the conquerour.

Unsound minds, like unsound bodies, if you feed you poyson.

Not only ought fortune to be pictured on a wheel, but everything else in this world.

All covet, all lose.

Better is one *Accipe* then twice to say *Dabo tibi.*

An asse endures his burden, but not more then his burden.

Threatned men eat bread, says the Spaniard.

The beades[40] in the hand and the divell in capuch or cape of the cloak.

He that will do thee a good turne either he will be gon or dye.

I escaped the thunder and fell into the lightning.

A man of a great memory without learning hath a rock and a spindle, and no staffe to spin.

The death of wolves is the safety of the sheep.

He that is once borne once must dye.

He that hath but one eye must bee afraid to lose it.

Hee that makes himself a sheep shall be eat by the wolfe.

He that steals an egge will steal an oxe.

He that will be surety shall pay.

He that is afraid of leaves goes not to the wood.[41]

In the mouth of a bad dog fals often a good bone.

Those that God loves do not live long.

Still fisheth he that catcheth one.

All flesh is not venison.

A city that parlies is half gotten.[42]

A dead bee maketh no hony.

An old dog barks not in vain.

They that hold the greatest farmes pay the least rent: applyed to rich men that are unthankful to God.

Old camels carry young camels' skins to the market.

He that hath time and looks for better time, time comes that he repents himself of time.

Words and feathers the wind carries away.

Of a pig's taile you can never make a good shaft.[43]

The bathe of the blackamoor hath sworne not to whiten.

To a greedy eating horse a short halter.

The divell divides the world between atheisme and superstition.

Such a saint, such an offering.

We do it soon enough if that we do be well.

Cruelty is more cruell if we defer the pain.

What one day gives us another takes away from us.

To seek in a sheep five feet when there is but four.

A scab'd horse cannot abide the comb.

God strikes with His finger, and not with all His arme.

God gives His wrath by weight, and without weight His mercy.

Of a new prince new bondage.

New things are fair.

Fortune to one is mother, to another is stepmother.

There is no man, though never so little, but sometimes he can hurt.

The horse that drawes after him his halter is not altogether escaped.

We must recoile a little, to the end we may leap the better.

No day so clear but hath dark clouds.

No hair so small but hath his shadow.

A wolfe will never make war against another wolfe.

We must love, as looking one day to hate.

It is good to have some friends both in heaven and hell.

It is very hard to shave an egge.

It is good to hold the asse by the bridle.

The healthfull man can give counsell to the sick.

The death of a young wolfe doth never come too soon.

The rage of a wild boar is able to spoil more then one wood.

Vertue flies from the heart of a mercenary man.

The wolfe eats oft of the sheep that have been warn'd.

The mouse that hath but one hole is quickly taken.

To play at chesse when the house is on fire.

The itch of disputing is the scab of the Church.

Follow not truth too near the heels, lest it dash out thy teeth.

Either wealth is much increased or moderation is much decayed.

Say to pleasure, 'Gentle Eve, I will none of your apple.'

When war begins then hell openeth.

There is a remedy for everything, could men find it.

There is an hour wherein a man might be happy all his life, could he find it.

Great fortune brings with it great misfortune.

A fair day in winter is the mother of a storme.

Wo be to him that reads but one book.

Tithe and be rich.

Take heed of

The wrath of a mighty man and the tumult of the people.

Mad folks in a narrow place.

Credit decaid and people that have nothing.

A young wench, a prophetesse, and a Latine-bred woman.

A person marked and a widdow thrice married.

Foul dirty wayes and long sicknesse.

Winde that comes in at a hole and a reconciled enemy.

A stepmother; the very name of her sufficeth.

Princes are venison in heaven.[44]

Criticks are like brushers of noblemen's clothes.

He is a great necromancer, for he asks counsell of the dead, *i.e.* books.

A man is known to be mortal by two things—sleep and lust.

Love without end hath no end, says the Spaniard; meaning,[45] if it were not begun on particular ends, it would last.

Stay a while, that we may make an end the sooner.

Presents of love fear not to be ill taken of strangers.

To seek these things is lost labour—geese in an oyl-pot, fat hogs among Jews, and wine in a fishing-net.

Some men plant an opinion they seem to erradicate.

The philosophy of princes is to dive into the secrets of men, leaving the secrets of nature to those that have spare time.

States have their conversions and periods as well as naturall bodies.

Great deservers grow intolerable presumers.

The love of money and the love of learning rarely meet.

Trust no friend with that you need fear him if he were your enemy.

Some had rather lose their friend then their jest.

Marry your daughters betimes, lest they marry themselves.

Souldiers in peace are like chimneys in summer.

Here is a talk of the Turk and the pope, but my next neighbour doth me more harm then either of them both.

Civill wars of France made a million of atheists and thirty thousand witches.

We batchelors laugh and shew our teeth, but you married men laugh till your hearts ake.

The divell never assailes a man except he find him either void of knowledge or of the fear of God.

There is nobody will go to hell for company.

Much money makes a countrey poor, for it sets a dearer price on every thing.

The vertue of a coward is suspition.

A man's destiny is alwayes dark.

Every man's censure is first moulded in his own nature.

Money wants no followers.

Your thoughts close and your countenance loose.

Whatever is made by the hand of man, by the hand of man may be overturned.]

Finis.

1639. *Imprimatur.*
MATTH. CLAY.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

[1] No. 18. In first edition '*growes :*' 'grow' accepted from second edition.

[2] No. 63, '*bables*'=bawbles, as in second edition. Contemporarily 'bable' was the more common spelling. The fool's 'bable' was his mace or sceptre—a short stick with a head and ass's ears fantastically carved on the top. The meaning is, If every fool carried his 'bable,' there would be no wood for fuel. 'Sea-coal' was then little used or appreciated; fires were of wood or charcoal, also called coal.

[3] No. 90, '*buzzard's* sword'=a stupid senseless fellow (Kersey, Ashe, and others). Not, perhaps, from the buzzard or bald kite, which, though slow, was keen-sighted, but from the insect, whence came the proverb 'Blind as a buzzard.' As there is a kindred proverb 'Blind as a beetle' (that flies in one's face in the evening), Nares supposes it is one of the beetle tribe, but in one passage thinks it the buzzard-moth. Halliwell, on authority of Craven Glossary, says it is the latter. Probably Nares is right when he says he has an indistinct recollection that in his childhood all moths were called buzzards. Their flying into candles would account for the proverb.

[4] No. 103, '*frontire*'=frontier, as in second edition.

[5] No. 131, '*trotted :*' a reference to the advantage of watering a horse on a journey and the refreshing so given him. A thrifty proverb, likely to be in vogue, and perhaps expressing the opposite opinion to those who thought it dangerous to do so.

[6] No. 132, '*gentle :*' second edition 'gentile :' perhaps the latter shows better the meaning. See Glossarial Index to HERBERT, Vol. II. *s.v.*

[7] No. 145, '*mora*'=delay.

[8] No. 155. This proverb has given its name to perhaps the most widely circulated of modern religious periodicals, 'Good Words.' It is placed as the motto on the cover of every number.

[9] No. 185. '*Others :*' in second edition, 'Or thus.'

[10] No. 238. '*Mores*'=Moors, as in second edition.

[11] No. 291, '*groundsell*'=groundsill, threshold. The meaning seems to be, that one may repeat what is said openly on the doorstep, but not that spoken within the house.

[12] No. 409. '*Escuriall*'=the renowned Spanish palace.

[13] No. 434, '*spittle*'=hospital.

[14] No. 487, '*wrings*'=pinches.

[15] No. 496, '*Weigh :*' second edition, 'weight.'

[16] No. 515, '*A jade*'=a mean or poor horse, a useless nag.

[17] No. 591, '*prayer :*' so in both editions. Corrupted into 'payer' in reprints. The capital A in Another brings out that God is intended. See similarly No. 984.

[18] No. 647, '*boxe :*' see [31].

[19] No. 665, '*habit*'=dress.

[20] No. 670. This proverb was used by Burton in his 'Anatomy' and by De Foe later, and by many since.

[21] No. 694, '*ill*'=evil or immoral; *i.e.* judge not or forsake not the Church because of its unworthy members.

[22] No. 714. Fetched from Dean Donne's well-known poem.

[23] No. 727, '*night :*' misprinted 'light' in reprints.

[24] No. 751, '*lett*'=hindrance or difficulty: lets=hinders or delays.

[25] No. 754, '*brables*'=quarrels: misprinted 'brambles' in reprints.

[26] No. 773, '*teemes*'=teams.

[27] No. 806, '*Weening*' or wening. Guessing or supposing is not measure. As selling by guess is not as correct as meting by measure, so guessing in any matter is not like weighed words, a rule to go by.

[28] No. 824. This proverb, which appeared in first edition, is dropped out here, and inserted later as new.

[29] No. 861. We have in this proverb the original of Sterne's pathetic saying.

[30] No. 901. Perhaps the most familiar and Shakespearian of all the proverbs of the collection.

[31] No. 905, '*boxe :*' a favourite word with Herbert. See Glossarial Index, Vol. II. *s.v.* and above, Note [18].

[32] No. 910, '*rapper*'=knocker (as of a door); modern editions misprint 'wrapper.'

[33] No. 948, '*wimble*'=a gimlet.

[34] No. 989, '*hatt :*' modern editions misprint 'heart.

[35] No. 1021, '*month*:' in second edition and reprints 'mouth,' and I fear this was the word in a very coarse sense.

[36] No. 1025. The first edition ends here.

[37] '*Beery*:' query 'Bury'?

[38] '*bedle*'=beadle.

[39] '*incompossible*:' unpossible for impossible is not uncommon, but this seems unusual.

[40] '*beades*'=Rosary.

[41] Already given in first edition, No. 764.

[42] Ibid. No. 582.

[43] '*shaft*'=shaft of an arrow, which must be 'straight as an arrow' and stiff.

[44] '*Venison*:' I suspect this means that princes, like 'rich men,' are rare dainties in heaven, just as 'venison' is rare on earth to the multitude. In the old French proverb, 'Toute chaire n'est pas venaison'=all dishes are not dainties, we have the word. Note that the word is 'venison,' not deer; whence one can imagine that this bitter saying arose among the commonalty when deer (as in England after the Norman invasion) were strictly preserved.

[45] '*meaning*:' modern editions, *e. g.* Pickering's (1853), misprint 'mending.' G.

VI.

ORATIONS.

NOTE.

The first of the two Orations was published in 1623 (sm. 4to), 'Ex officina *Cantrelli Legge*, Almae Matris *Cantabrigiae typographi*' (title and pp. 11). It has never before been translated. The second was also published in 1623: 'London, Printed by W. Stansby, for Richard Meighen' (sm. 4to), both Latin and English. These original texts have been followed by us, with tacit correction of misprints. It has likewise been deemed expedient to reproduce Herbert's own contractions and other peculiarities. G.

ORATIO

QUA AUSPICATISSIMUM SERENISSIMI PRINCIPIS CAROLI REDITUM EX HISPANIJS CELEBRAUIT

GEORGIVS HERBERT,
ACADEMIAE CANTABRIGIENSIS ORATOR.

VENERANDA CAPITA, VIRI GRAVISSIMI, PUBES LECTISSIMA:

POLYCRATES cum annulum sibi dilectum in mare dimisisset, eundemque retulisset captus piscis, felicissimus mortalium habitus est. Quanto feliciores nos omnes, corona musica, qui optimum Principem spe nuptiarum mari nuper tradentes, et ipsum accepimus salvum et annulum, annulum coniugalem, nunc denuo nostrum, atque vbiuis terrarum pro iudicio prudentissimi Regis, et in rebus humanis diuinisque exercitatissimi de integro disponendum. Redijt, redijt Carolus, et cum eo vita nostra atque calor, longo animi deliquio fugitivus ac desertor. Quid iactas mihi aromata Orientis? quid Theriacas peregrinas? asserunt medici vnamquamque

regionem suam sibi sufficere, neque externis indigere auxilijs atque antidotis: certe nostrate Principe nusquam præsentius balsamum, nusquam benignius, solvens obstupefactos artus, atque exhilarans, tumentibus iam venis, arterijs micantibus spiritibusque tabellariis lætum hunc nuncium vbique deferentibus, vt nullus sit angulus corporis, nulla venula, vbi non adsit Carolvs. Quam facile sentiuntur boni Principes! Vt natura omnis suos habet anteambulones, vnde pluvia futura, an sudum, facile conjicitur ex cœlo, ex garritu auium, ex lapidum exhalatione; sic bonorum Principum facilis astrologia: quorum aduentum ipsi lapides, ipsa durissima ingenia, meum præsertim, celare non possunt: quanto minus tacebunt lusciniæ nostræ disertæ, minimeque omnium cœlestiores animi, quorum pietatis interest non silere.

Quæ enim vspiam gens, quod vnquam seculum meliorem habuit Principem? percurrite annales regnorum, excutite scrinia politiarum omnium; vos, vos, inquam, excutite, quorum ætas teritur in libris: non rusticis loquor aut barbaris, quos magnificentia promissi circumscribere in promptu erat, rudesque animos vi verborum percellere: vestra est optio, vestra disquisitio, qui tineæ estis et helluones chartacei; date mihi Carolvm alterum, quamlibet Magnum, modo detis eum in flore, in vagina, in herbescenti viriditate; nondum ad spicam barbamque adultum. Non rhetoricor, Academici, non tinnio: ὑλομανίαν illam et inanem verborum

strepitum iamdudum deposui: bullæ et crepitacula puerorum sunt, aut eorum certe, qui cymbala sunt fanaticæ iuventutis: ego vero sentio, et quis sum ipse (barbam, hui, tam grauem) et apud quos dico, viros limatæ auris atque tersæ, quorum grauitate ac purpura non abutar.

Quare vt parcius agam vobiscum, simulque et laboribus meis et vestræ fidei consulam, quemadmodum artifices non omnes licitantibus producunt merces, sed specimen tantum; sic et ipse excerpam e Principis rebus gestis pugillum, vnam actionem e multis seligam, quam vobis amplectendam dissuaviandamque præbebo: esto autem hoc ipsum iter, quod nuper emensus est, vt sciatis omnes quam nude, quam simpliciter vobiscum agam, quam non longe abeam oratorum more, qui nullum non angulum verrunt (ac si perdiderint ingenium) ut Spartam exornent suam. Ego vero non dicam vobis quod factum est ante seculum vestrum, aut apud Indos; vnicum hoc iter nuperum explicabo, in quo longe vberrimam gloriæ segetem, perspicio, nulla verborum, nulla temporis falce demetendam.

Non vnum quid spectant, aut singulare magni animi, sed varia solent esse eorum consilia, finesque multiplices et polymiti, vt si minus id assequantur, quod primum intendunt, saltem in secundis aut tertijs consistant. Quare et Principis iter multiplicem nobis exhibet prudentiam; primo Nuptias ipsas spectate. Quid autem? Ergon' amauit Princeps? Quippini; homo est, non

statua; Sceptriger, non sceptrum: æquumne est vt tot labores et sollicitudines Principum sine condimento sint atque embammate? Quid si cochleas colligeret cum Caligula, præsertim cum possit in eodem litore? Quid si muscas captaret cum Domitiano? at ille ambiuit nobilissimam Austriacam familiam, Aquilamque illam, quæ non capit muscas. Nihil habet humana vita maioris momenti aut ponderis, quam nuptiæ, quas adeo laudant Poetæ, vt in cœlum transtulerint: Εἰ ἓν ἦν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, inquit medicorum Alpha, οὐκ ἂν ἤλγεεν. Hinc Thraces dicti sunt ἄβιοι, et Licurgus magnus legislator, ἀτιμίαν προσέθηκε τοῖς ἀγάμοις. Absque nuptijs foret populus virorum, essemus vnius seculi; hac re solum vlciscimur mortem, ligantes abruptum vitae filum, vnde consequimur, vel inuitis Fatis quasi nodosam æternitatem.

Non ignoro apud quos hæc dico, eos scilicet, qui innuptam Palladem colunt, Musasque cœlibes, qui posteros libris non liberis quæritis. Nolite tamen nimium efferre vos, cum virginitas ipsa fructus sit nuptiarum: quod pereleganter et supra barbariem seculi innuebant maiores nostri, qui olim glasto se inficientes, in vxorum corporibus, solem, lunam, et stellas; in virginum, flores atque herbas depinxere: vt enim vxores, virgines; ita sol et cœlum producunt flores, qui symbola sunt spei, quoniam a floribus fructus sperantur.

Quod si nuptiæ in se graues sunt, quanto magis Principum, cum, quo eorum conditio sublimior, eo

maior cura adhibenda sit. Deus ipse cum crearet hominem, mundi regem, consilio vsus est. Quare operosior in eo structura, et prærogatiuæ regiæ emicant. Soli homini dantur manus, soli caput rotundum et cœleste, soli facies tanquam vestibulum magni palatij. Iam vero, vt rex animalium fiat rex hominum apponimus nos manibus sceptrum, capiti et faciei coronam, significantes oportere reges ijs partibus antecellere homines, quibus homo bruta, iustitia scilicet et prudentia. Goropius Becanus ait vetus vocabulum nostrum Koning, et contracte King, a *con* verbo deduci, quod tria complectitur, *possum*, *scio*, *audeo*: cernitis regem, et nomine et re magnum quid polliceri, ideoque ex quolibet ligno, qualibet vxore non esse fingendum: neque enim minus refert, qualis quæque sit mater, e qua liberi quærantur, quam qualis terra, e qua arbores. Apud Iuris-consultos, partus sequitur ventrem: quibus accedunt Poetæ,

Ὅταν κρηπὶς μὴ καταβληθῇ τοῦ γένους
Ὀρθῶς, ἀνάγκη δυστυχεῖν τοὺς ἐκγόνους.

Nam vt educationem liberorum mittam, qua in re celebris est Gracchorum mater, ingenium ipsum atque indoles (veluti conclusio sequitur infirmiorem partem) plerumque matrissat: hinc contigisse arbitror apud Romanos, quod nonnullæ familiæ semper mites essent, uti Valerij; aliæ contra semper pertinaces ac tribunitiæ, vti Appij. Quare noluit Princeps optimus, in delectu vxoris, re una omnium gravissima alienis oculis iudi-

cioque inniti. Ipse, ipse profectus est, vt ingenti labore suo et periculo consuleret, et præsenti reipub[licæ] et futuræ; neque vnius seculi Princeps, sed et omnium, quæ ventura sunt, haberetur. Neque in hisce nuptijs posteritati tantum prospexit suavissimus Princeps, verum etiam præsenti seculo, dum pacem, qua tot iam annis impune fruimur, hoc pacto fundatam cupit et perpetuam; quod quidem vbi gentium si non ab Hispano sperandum? *Ὅταν νομεὺς ἀγαθὸν κύνα ἔχῃ, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι νομεῖς βούλονται πλησίον αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀγέλας ἱστάναι.* Scio belli nomen splendidum esse et gloriosum, dum animus grandis, suique impos, triumphos et victorias, quasi fræna ferox spumantia mandit, iuvat micare gladio et mucronem intueri.

'Iam nunc minaci murmure cornuum
Stringuntur aures: iam litui strepunt,
Jam fulgor armorum fugaces
Terret equos equitumque vultus.'

Cum tamen splendida plerumque vitrea sint, claritatem fragilitate corrumpentia; neque de priuato agamus bono, sed publico; certe fatendum est, anteferendam bello pacem, sine qua omnis vita procella, et mundus solitudo. Pace filij sepeliunt patres, bello patres filios: pace ægri sanantur, bello etiam sani intereunt; pace securitas in agris est, bello neque intra muros: pace avium cantus expergefacit, bello tubæ ac tympana; pax novum orbem aperuit, bellum destruit veterem.

Εἰρήνη γεωργὸν κἂν πέτραις τρέφει καλῶς,
Πολεμὸς δὲ κἂν πεδίῳ κακὸς ἔφυ.

Quod ad nostram Rempub[licam] Academiam, pax adeo Musis summe necessaria est, vt sine ea nihil simus. Nam primum tota hæc Pieria supellex, charta, calami, codices, quam subito dispereunt, simul ac concrepuit incendium militare: quid proderunt scalpella vestra, quando ipsæ hæ turres et beatæ fabricæ, unico ictu sulphurei tubi, vnica litura delentur? Dein quid Musis cum tumultu? Otium poscunt artes, mentem tranquillam, serenam, sudam: lucos æstate, pinguem togam hyeme: delicata res est eruditio et tenera, tanquam flos molliculus rudiore centurionis manu tactus flaccescit. Tu, qui Philosophiæ incumbis, cum corporis cum animo vinculum impedimento esse ad contemplandum causaris, irruit miles in Musæum tuum, et gladio te liberat. Tu, qui astra scrutaris, dum globos tractas et cœlos fictitios, perrumpit primipilus, et te cum cœlis tuis ad inferos deturbat. Sensit hoc Archimedes, figuras iam nunc pulueri inscriptas, corpore confosso obliterans. Quare cauendum, ne pacem, quæ sola incubat artibus, et obstetricatur, minus quam par est æstimemus. Quod aliæ gentes manibus in cœlum sublatis, lachrymis in terram manantibus, iejunæ, squalidæ, perdiæ, pernoctes flagitant, cavendum ne id nobis nauseam moveat, aut tanquam oues tædulæ et fastidiosæ, cibum respuamus. Ecquid nescitis miserias belli? consulite historias; illic tuta cognitio est, atque extra teli jactum. Ecce lanienas omninodas, truncata corpora, mutilatam imaginem Dei, pauxillum vitæ,

quantum satis ad dolendum, vrbium incendia, fragores, direptiones, stupratas virgines, prægnantes bis intersectas, infantulos plus lactis quam cruoris emittentes; effigies, imo vmbras hominum fame, frigore, illuvie, enectas, contusas, debilitatas. Quam cruenta gloria est, quæ super ceruicibus hominum erigitur? vbi in dubio est, qui facit, an qui patitur, miserior.

Non nego bellum aliquando necessarium esse, bellique miserias gratas, præcipue vbi velut ex continentibus tectis ad nos traiecturum est incendium: Σωφρόνων ἐστὶ μὴ περιμένειν, ὅτε πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν ὁμολογήσει, dixit Mithridates. Sed non est nostri bellum indicere: prudentissimus Rex mature prospiciet, vbi ille signum sustulerit, Leones Britannici (e quorum ossibus collisis ignis elicitur) qui nunc mansueti sunt, abunde rugient. Interim curiositas absit, neque eorum satagamus, quæ ad nos non spectant; sed velut Romani lacum, cujus altitudo ignota erat, dedicabant victoriæ; pariter et nos consilia regia, tanquam gurgitem impervestigabilem, victoriæ nuncupemus: præsertim cum futura incerta sint, et nullis perspicillis, ne Belgicis quidem assequenda: apud poetas deorum pharetræ operculum habuere, humanæ non item: patent enim consilia nostra, absconduntur Diuina et Regia, præcipue pharetrata, quæ ad pœnam gentium et bellum spectant. Sunt tamen acuti quidam et emuncti, qui omnia præuident: nihil eos latet, ac si Fatis a fuso essent, atque consilijs, sine quibus ne vnum quidem filum torquer-

ent : nobis nón licet esse tam perspicacibus, quamvis rationi consonum videtur, vt qui hic in Musarum monte editissimo, et ipso Parnasso siti sumus, liberiorem quam alij, prospectum habeamus. Illud autem, quod cuiuis clarissime patet, etiam lusco, nunquam intueri satis vel mirari possumus, nimirum infinitum Principis in suam gentem amorem, qui pacem quæsiuit suo capite, periculis suis.

Recte facitis, Academici, attollentes oculos cum stupore. Laudo vos, neque enim quicquam hoc itinere mirabilius, cujus tamen fructum omnem nondum habetis enucleatum. Quid enim si præter nuptias, prolem, tranquillitatem, etiam et scientiæ augmentum ex hoc itinere captauit solertissimus Princeps? nihil ad cognitionem acquirendam peregrinatione conducibilius esse nouistis omnes, vnde cuncti antiqui Philosophi peregrinati sunt, existimantes Τυφλοὺς εἶναι πρὸς ὀξὺ βλέποντας, ἀναποδημήτους πρὸς ἐκδεδημηκότας. Quamuis res hæc Principibus vt utilissima, ita difficillima factu, cum quanto plus possint in sua terra, tanto minus in aliena. Omne regnum suo Principi carcer est, aut si excedat, alienum: at Noster difficultatem superans, fructum consecutus est: quid enim vtilius quam ex obseruatione exterarum legum ac morum, patriam ditare? Catonianum præceptum est: Vicini quo pacto niteant, id animum aduertito. Adde quod angusti est animi aut superbi sua tantum nosse, præsertim cum in vno regno non sint omnia: diuisit Natura suas dotes,

et indigentia singularum regionum, omnes connectit; etenim abundantia morosa est et sternax, vnde diuites syluas ac saltus quærunt, vbi ædificent, ac si non gregaria essent animalia, sed tigres aut vrsi. Quamobrem optime consuluit gentibus natura, cum paupertatem daret tanquam catenam, qua dissitas nationes ac superbas constringeret. Porro si Politicos audiamus, salus regnorum pendet a vicinis, quorum consilia, apparatus, fœdera, munitiones, æque ac nostra spectari debent: incumbant sibi inuicem imperia, tanquam ligna obliqua, aliter magna hæc mundi domus corrueret: hinc Reges Legatos habent statarios ac resides, quem locum Noster suavissimus impleuit, ipse egit oratorem, vt et ego aliquantulum hoc nomine glorier.

Neque alienas tantum ex hoc itinere cognovit Respub[licas], sed quod plus est, suam; absentia magis quam præsentia. Nunc enim exploratos habet nostros in se affectus, timores, suspiria, expostulationes, iras, amorem rursus. Deus bone, qui tum rumores! quæ auditiones! qui susurri! Heus, abijtne Noster? miseros nos; nunquam frigidiorem æstatem sensimus; at quo tandem? Madritum? hui, iter bene longum! Quid autem illic? sterilem aiunt regionem. Falleris, nusquam plura bona, cum etiam mala illic sint aurea: nihil inaudisti de Tago, Pactolo? Apud nos agri tantum sunt fertiles, illic etiam arenæ. Dij te perdant, cum malis tuis et arena sine calce; at ego Principem vellem, Carolvm, Carolvm; siccine abijsti solus? cur non

nos omnes tecum? cur non vt elephanti turres, ita tu patriam tecum portasti? Sic tunc omnes strepebant; huiusmodi lamentis et quiritationibus plena erant fora, nundinæ, conciliabula, angiportus, mæandri. Dicam vobis, Academici; ego tunc temporis liberior eram, huc illuc pro libitu circumcursitans: inspexi facies hominum ac vultus curiosius tanquam emptor: ita me ametis omnes, vt ego nihil vspiam lætum, nihil candidum expiscari possem, oculi omnium deiecti, humile os, collum pensile, manus decussatæ, ipsæ mulieres inelegantes, nulla pulchritudo per vniversam Britanniam, disparuit forma, Albion nomine excidit: ipsum cœlum nubilum semper, et poeta stultus qui dixerat,

'Minima contentos nocte Britannos.'

Inde ego sic mecum: gaudeo quidem de ingenti amore in Principem, cui nulla dilectio par esse potest. At cur adeo dolent? cur ringuntur? num diffidunt prudentiæ Regis? annon eius consilio res gesta est? Scio Hispanum versutum, callidum, artis et aucupij apprime gnarum: at Jacobvs a nobis est: hic ego me erexi et de dolore remisi plurimum, de desiderio nihil. Atque hoc quidem statu res erant, suauissime Carole, cum tu aberas; ex quo facile collectu erat, quantum deperimus te; quam stulte de te rixamur: vt aliquando existimem id egisse prudentissimum Patrem tuum, cum dimitteret te in Hispaniam, quod Romani Imperatores in bello, qui solebant signa in hostes inijcere, vt milites acrius ea

repeterent: certe nos te absentem omnes acerrime concitatissimeque desiderauimus. Ecquid videtis tandem quam vtile hoc iter, per quod optimus Princeps non tantum exteras regiones habuit perspectas, verum etiam suam? Quid si hic lateat etiam Temperantia, rara in Principibus virtus, et cui cum sceptro lites sæpius intercedunt? Quid enim? adeon' nihili videtur res, Principem omnibus delicijs abundantem, obseptum, illecebris, voluptatibus quasi fascijs circundatum, enatare e delicijs, transilire sepes, rumpere fascias cum Hercule, serpentesque interficere voluptatis, vt iter tantum, tantis laboribus, periculis obnoxium susciperet? Quam pudet me delicatorum Cæsarum, qui cupiditatibus immersi, aut vno semper saginantur in loco, vti anguillæ, aut si mutant locum, gestantur, tanquam onera, circumferuntur mollissimis lecticis, indicantes se non amare patriam terram, a qua adeo remouentur. Sic pascunt se indies; ac si corpora sua non abirent olim in elementa, sed in bellaria aut tragemata: cum tamen in resolutione illa vltima, nulla sit distinctio populi aut principis: nulla sunt sceptra in elementis, nulli fasces aut secures: vapores seruiles ad nubes educti, æque magnum tonitru edent ac regij. Quid ego vobis Neronum aut Heliogabalorum ingluuiem memorem? quid ructus crapulæ solium possidentis? Dies me deficeret (et quidem nox aptior esset tali historiæ), si Romanorum Imperatorum incredibilem luxum a Tiberio Cæsare ad Constantinum magnum aperirem, quorum

imperium gulæ impar erat, vt interdum putem, optime consuluisse Deum orbi terrarum lapides et metalla ei inserendo, aliter mundus iam diu fuisset deuoratus. Nota sunt ταριχεύματα Ægyptiorum, qui antequam condiebant corpora Nobilium, solebant ventres eximere, quos in arca repositos abijciebant in fluvium, his verbis: Ὦ δέσποτα ἥλιε καὶ θεοὶ πάντες, εἴ τι κατὰ τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ βίον ἥμαρτον, ἢ φαγὼν ἢ πιὼν, ὧν μὴ θεμιτὸν ἦν, οὐ δι' ἐμαῦτον ἥμαρτον, ἀλλὰ διὰ ταῦτα. At noster, spretis voluptatibus, illecebris, μελιταίαις ἀγχόναις abiectis, iter aggreditur et labores, haud ignarus ignem vitæ augeri ventilatione, desidia corrumpi, neminemque esse sui negligentiorem quam qui sibi parcat. Quin exuit personam Principis, deponit maiestatem, virgam cum sceptro commutans, ut quid priuata habeat in se vita commodi aut voluptatis, experiretur. Nihil vtilius Regi quam aliquando non regnare: hoc enim fastum amputat, affectus explorat, adulationem ventilat, et adulatores, qui semper titillant aures Principum, Ὥσπερ τοῖς πτεροῖς κνώμενοι τὰ ὦτα. Elfredus, nobilissimus Saxonum nostrorum Princeps, sub ementito habitu fidicinis castra hostium ingressus, ipsumque prætorium, fidibus canendo, omnia Danorum expiscatus consilia, victoriam celebrem consecutus est. Notissimus est Codri amor, cujus manifestationem in gentem suam, priuatæ personæ et habitui debuit. Porro, est etiam interdum satietas quædam honoris, quem ad tempus deponere famem excitat: non minus vitæ inæqualitas delectat,

quam terræ, quam Natura montibus vallibusque sublimitate atque humilitate distinxit : quin et venti imperant pelago, ut læuitatem illam æquabilem atque politiem perturbent. In picturis locus est vmbris et recessibus, etiam si quis Principem pingat. Amat varietatem Natura omnis, flores, animalia, tum maxime homo, cui soli ideo insunt oculi variegati, cum cætera animantia vnicolores habeant. Quamobrem non est mirandum, si Reges ipsi quandoque suauitates suas populari aceto condiant.

Accepistis, Viri attentissimi, causas itineris huius, quantum quidem ego homuncio ac nanus conjectando assequor. Quare nunc vobis ex pede Herculem, ex itinere Principem metiri licet, quod sane adeo nobile fuit et honorificum, vt nihil habeat inuidia ipsa, quod contra hiscat aut mussitet. Adest tamen anus illa querula, et φιλεγκλήμων, quam audire videor dicentem, Pulchrum quidem iter et amante dignum ; siccine pessima ? at fuerit ; si amor virginis eo pertraxit Principem, quo tandem ducet amor patriæ ? eadem acies et stipulam secat et lignum : idem feruor qui impar sub amoris signo meritus est, ad vera castra traductus, hostem interficiet : idem impetus, qui peragrauit Hispaniam, si opus sit, superabit ; præsertim cum amico fidere periculosius sit, quam hostem superare. Protagoras cum eleganter admodum caudices ligni fasciculo vinxisset, cum grandi atque impedito onere facillime incedens, occurrit ei Democritus, et ingenium admirans, domum

secum duxit, et erudiuit artibus; qui inde e baiulo euasit philosophus, eodem ingenio vsus in lignis et literis: quis scit an et amoris onus scite vinctum ligatumque et per tot milliaria facile transmissum, mentem maiorum capacem indicet? Florent apud nos artes omnes, inter quas et Mathematicæ, quæ licet versentur in figuris describendis, quibus nihil imperito vanius inutiliusue videatur, vbi tamen ad vsum tralatæ fuerint, machinas conficiunt ad defensionem Reipub[licæ] mirabiles: sic idem animus, qui nuper versatus est in forma et figuris vultus, vbi res postulat, regnum tuebitur: imo in vniversum, si quis de principe aliquo, quis sit futurus aut qualis, recte diuinaret, non respiciat materiam actionum, sed quo spiritu, qua arte, quanto impetu atque vigore res aggrediatur: quemadmodum in cometæ præsagio, non respicitur, quæ materia sit, cœlestis an sublunaris, sed quæ signa, quo motu transeat.

Verum mittamus invidos et inuidiam, quæ semper se deuorat primum, vti vermis nucleum, e quo nascitur; non est tanti respondere latratibus malevolorum; licet celebres sint canes Britannici, et plus justo celebres, cum leunculum et dominum suum contra naturam adoriantur: in Geoponicis dicitur, Κάτοπτρον ἐὰν ἐπιδείξῃς τῷ ἐπικειμένῳ νέφει, παρελεύσεται ἡ χάλαζα: quanto citius fugient calumniæ, si speculum inuidiæ ostendas, quo deformitatem suam intueatur. Nos vero, flores Parnassi, gaudia præstolantur, quæ iamdudum annuunt mihi ut perorem. Hilaris hæc sumenda est dies. Quare

prodite tenebriones literarij e gurgustijs vestris, vbi trecenta foliorum iugera vno die sedentes percurritis; prodite omnes. Quid noui? Quid noui stupide? Redijt Princeps, Carolus redijt, honore grauidus, grauidus scientiâ, cruribus thymo plenis: vt enim vapor, qui furtim ascendit ad nubes, vbi iam ingrauescit humore, relabitur in terram, qua ortus est, eique cum fœcundia remuneratur; sic et Noster, qui clanculum exijt, vsque ad Pyrenæas nubes conscendens, reversus per mare, gloria, prudentia auctior, ditat patriam, suamque absentiam cum fœnore compensat. Quamobrem abjicite quisque libros; non est locus grauitati, neque apud vos: tripudiet Alma Mater, licet ætate provectior; etiam anus subsultans multum excitet pulueris: Arionem delphino reuectum excepere arbores tripudiantes; et vos statis?

Tantum precemur Deum immortalem, vt Princeps optimus nulla secunda itinera meditetur; posthac contineat se patria, cujus arctis amplexibus nunquam se expediet. Gulielmus Victor descensurus primum e nauibus in terram hanc, incidit in cœnum, quod innuebat eum hic mansurum: vtinam et nunc sit tanta patriæ tenacitas, vt nunquam Princeps se extricet: satis virtuti datum est, satis reipub[licæ]. Quod si necesse sit iterum exire patria, qui nunc inuenit viam, proximo itinere faciat. Apollo olim depositis radijs, Daphnen deperijt, at illa mutata est in arborem triumphantium propriam: noster etiam Princeps habuit Daphnen suam, cujus amor deinceps in triumphos et laurus mutabitur.

Nos vero, Auditores, diu iam peregrinati cum Principe, commode pervenimus ad laurum hanc, ubi sub umbra ejus paulisper requiescamus; præsertim donec transeat nubes illa, quæ vicinos adeo infestat: hic enim securi sumus a pluuia, imo a fulmine: obsecremus eum tantum ut permittat nostram hanc

'Inter victrices hederam sibi serpere lauros.'

Dixi.

THE ORATION IN WHICH GEORGE HERBERT,

ORATOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,

CELEBRATED THE MOST AUSPICIOUS RETURN FROM SPAIN OF THE MOST SERENE PRINCE CHARLES.

Venerable Heads, most worshipful Sirs, most select Youth:

When Polycrates had flung into the sea a ring much prized by him, and a captured fish had brought him back the same, he was accounted the most fortunate of mortals. How much more fortunate are we, the Muses' crown,* who, lately committing to the sea a most excellent prince with the hope of espousals, have received both himself safe and sound, and the ring, the marriage-ring, now again our own, and to be disposed of anew anywhere in the world, according to

* As opposed to *King* Polycrates.

the judgment of a king most wise and most experienced in things human and divine. Back again, back again Charles has come, and with him our life and heat, a runaway and deserter to the long failure of our soul. Why do you boast to me of spices of the East? Why of foreign medicines? Physicians say that each proper region is equal to its own needs, and stands not in want of foreign helps and antidotes. Certainly than our own prince there is nowhere a more effectual balsam, nowhere a more kindly one, loosening the benumbed joints and making cheerful, while now the swelling veins and the dancing arteries and the courier spirits carry these glad tidings everywhere; so that there is no corner of the body, no little vein, where Charles is not present. How easily are perceived good princes! As all nature has its presages, whence coming rain or clear weather is easily divined from the chattering of birds, from the moisture rising out of stones,—so of good princes easy is the astrology, whose coming the very stones, even the hardest natures, mine especially, are not able to conceal. How much less shall our eloquent nightingales hold their peace, and least of all those more celestial minds whose piety it behoves not to be silent!

For what nation anywhere, what age ever had a better prince? Run through the annals of kingdoms, shake out the bookcases of all governments; you, you, I say, shake them out, whose life is spent among books.

I do not speak to rustics or to barbarians, whom it were easy to circumvent by the grandeur of a statement, and to astonish their inexperienced minds by the force of (mere) words; yours is the free choice, yours is the sifting inquiry, who are moths* and literary gluttons; give to me another Charles, however great, only you must give him in the flower, in the blade, in the springing greenness, not as yet come to the spike and the ripe ear. I do not play the orator, O collegians; I do not tinkle (the cymbal): that wild folly and empty noise of words I have long ago laid aside; bubbles and rattles are for boys, or for those indeed who are the cymbals of enthusiastic youth. I truly am conscious both who I am myself (a beard, alas, so grave!), and amongst whom I am speaking—men of polished and nice ear, whose gravity and position (or purple)† I will not trifle with.

Wherefore, to deal more sparingly with you, and to take thought at the same time both for my own labours and for your confidence (in me), as craftsmen do not bring forth all their wares for buyers, but only a sample, so will I also myself pick out from the prince's exploits a handful; one action out of many I will choose, which I will offer to you to be embraced and kissed on all sides: let it be this very journey, which he has

* 'Lineæ,' misprint for 'tineæ' in the original.

† Probably the heads and doctors would be in their scarlet robes, as on a 'scarlet day.'

lately gone through, that you may all know how simply and plainly I deal with you; how I travel not far, after the manner of orators, who leave no corner (of earth) unscoured (as if they had quite lost their mind), in order that they may deck out their own Sparta. I indeed shall not mention to you what has been done before your own age, or amongst the Indians; this one recent journey I will unfold, in which I perceive far the richest crop of glory, by no sickle of words, by no sickle of time, to be fully reaped.

Not some one or single object do great minds regard, but various are wont to be their counsels, and their designs manifold, and wrought of many threads; that if they fail to attain that which in the first place they aim at, they may make a stand at least in the second or third (purpose). Wherefore also the prince's journey exhibits to us a manifold wisdom. First look at the marriage itself. What then? Was the prince in love? Why not? He is a man, not a statue; a sceptre-bearer, not a sceptre; is it just that so many toils and anxieties of princes should be without flavour and sauce? What if he should gather shells with Caligula, especially since he might do so on the same shore? What if he should catch flies with Domitian? But *he* (rather) courted a most noble Austrian family, and that Eagle which does not catch flies. Human life has nothing of greater moment or weight than marriage, which the poets praise so much that they have trans-

ported it to heaven. If man were alone, says the first of physicians, he would not suffer pain. Hence the Thracians were called without a life, or wretched; and Lycurgus, the great legislator, affixed disgrace on the unmarried. Without marriage there would be a nation of men, we should be of one genération; by this thing alone we take revenge upon death, binding up the broken thread of life, from whence we attain, even in spite of the Fates, a sort of knotted eternity.

I am not ignorant amongst whom I say these things, namely those who worship the virgin Minerva and the unmarried Muses; ye who seek for offspring in books, not in children. Yet do not extol yourselves too much, since virginity itself is the fruit of marriage; which our ancestors signified very elegantly and beyond the rudeness of the age, who, while formerly dyeing themselves with woad, painted on the bodies of their wives the sun and moon and stars, on those of virgins flowers and herbs; for as wives bring forth virgins, so the sun and sky produce flowers, which are the symbols of hope, inasmuch as from flowers fruits are hoped for.

But if marriage is serious in itself, how much more in the case of princes, since the loftier their condition, the greater care ought to be taken! God Himself, when He created man, the king of the world, exercised deliberation. Wherefore in him a more artful structure and royal prerogatives shine forth. To man alone

are given hands; to him alone a head spherical and heavenward-looking; to him alone a face as it were the vestibule of a mighty palace. Now, indeed, that the king of animals may become the king of men, place in his hands a sceptre, on his head and face a crown, signifying that kings ought to excel men in those parts in which man (excels) brutes, in justice, namely, and wisdom. Goropius Becanus says that our old word *koning*, and in contracted form *king*, is derived from the word *con*, which embraces three things—I can, I know, I dare. You perceive that a king, both in name and in fact, promises something great, and so is not to be fashioned out of any log, out of any wife; for it is not of less consequence of what sort any mother is from whom children are sought, than of what sort the earth is from which trees (are sought). Among lawyers the offspring follows the womb, to whom are added the poets, 'When the foundation of the race is not rightly laid, it must needs be that the offspring turn out badly.' For, to pass by the education of children, in which particular the mother of the Gracchi is famous, the very nature and disposition (as the conclusion follows the weaker part) generally takes after the mother. Hence I think it happened among the Romans that some families were always mild, as the Valerii; others, on the contrary, were always obstinate and dictatorial, like the Appii. Wherefore our most excellent prince in the choice of a wife, the one

thing of all the most important, was unwilling to rely upon the eyes of others.* He himself, himself set out, that at great personal toil and risk he might take thought for the State both present and future, and might be esteemed the prince not of one generation, but of all which are to come. And in this marriage our most sweet prince not only had a view to posterity, but also to the present age, while he desires the peace which we freely enjoy now for so many years in this way to be secured and everlasting; and where in the world may this be hoped for if not from the Spaniard? 'When a shepherd has a good dog, the other shepherds also wish to place their flocks near him.' I know that the name of war is splendid and glorious, while a great spirit, unable to control itself, fiercely champs triumphs and victories like foaming bits, and delights to brandish the sword and gaze upon its point:

> 'Now, now with threatening trumpet-blast
> Men's ears are hurt; now clarions sound;
> Now glittering armour terrifies
> The flying steeds and horsemen fierce.'

Nevertheless, since splendid things are generally brittle, ruining their brightness by their frailty, and since we are treating not of private but public advantage, certainly it must be confessed that peace is to be preferred to war; for without peace all life is a storm and the

* 'To choose love by another's eye' (Shakespeare, 'Mid. Night's Dream,' i. 1).

world a desert. In peace, sons bury their fathers—in war, fathers their sons; in peace, the sick are made whole—in war, even the whole perish; in peace, there is safety in the fields—in war, not even within walls; in peace, the song of birds awakens us—in war, trumpets and drums; peace has opened up a new world—war destroys the old;

> 'Peace feeds the labourer well e'en amid rocks,
> But war e'en on the plain his labour mocks.'

As regards our own republic, the University, peace is so extremely necessary for the Muses, that without it we are nothing. For, in the first place, all this Pierian furniture, paper, pens, books, how suddenly they perish, as soon as the soldiers' conflagration has crackled! what will your penknives profit, when these towers themselves and blessed fabrics with one blow of the sulphureous tube, with a single erasure, are blotted out? In the next place, what have the Muses to do with commotion? The arts demand peace, a mind tranquil, serene, clear; the groves in summer, a thick cloak in winter: learning is a delicate and tender thing; like a soft flower touched by the rougher hand of a centurion, it withers away. Thou who appliest thyself to philosophy, while thou art alleging that the linking of the body with the soul is a hindrance to contemplation, a soldier rushes into thy study and sets thee at liberty with his sword. Thou who explorest the stars, while thou handlest imaginary globes and heavens, an officer

bursts in and thrusts thee down with thy heavens to the regions below. Archimedes experienced this, when with his transfixed body he effaced the figures just inscribed upon the dust. Wherefore we must take care lest we value less than is right (that) peace which alone watches over the arts, and acts as their midwife. What other nations with hands upraised to heaven, with tears trickling down to earth, fasting, mourning, by day, by night, are earnestly importuning, we must take care lest this should stir in us a disgust, or, like sheep discontented and fanciful, we should reject our (very) food. Know you not, I pray, the miseries of war? Consult histories; there you have a safe way of acquiring knowledge, and beyond the reach of any weapon. Behold slaughterings of every kind, mangled bodies, the mutilated image of God, a little span of life long enough for weeping, the burnings of cities, crashings, plunderings, violated virgins, women with child twice killed, little infants shedding more milk than blood; images, nay shadows of men, with hunger, cold, filth, vext, crushed, disabled. How cruel is glory which is reared upon the necks of men; where it is doubtful whether he who achieves it, or he who suffers, is the more miserable!

I do not deny that war is sometimes necessary, and the miseries of war welcome, especially when the fire is about to leap as it were from the adjacent roofs to us. 'It is the part of wise men not to wait, when he

shall profess that he is making war with you,' said Mithridates. But it is not our duty to proclaim war; our most prudent king will timely foresee where he should lift up the standard; the British lions (from whose bones when rubbed together fire is drawn forth), which now are gentle, will roar sufficiently. Meanwhile let curiosity cease, and let us not busy ourselves with those things which do not concern us; but as the Romans dedicated to victory the lake whose depth was unknown, in like manner let us also consecrate to victory the royal counsels, as a depth past searching out, especially since future things are uncertian, and not to be reached with any glasses, even Belgian ones. In the poets, the quivers of the gods had a cover, but not so those of men: for our counsels lie open; hidden are the counsels of gods and kings, especially the quivered ones, which relate to the punishment of the nations and to war. Nevertheless there are some sharp and clear-sighted persons who foresee all things, nothing lies hid from them; as if they were a part of the spindle and counsels of the Fates, without whom they twisted not a single thread. To us it is not allowed to be so far-seeing, though it seems accordant with reason that we who here are placed on the loftiest mount of the Muses, and on Parnassus itself, should possess a more unimpeded prospect than others. But there is this fact, which lies perfectly open to any one, even though he had but one eye—never indeed can we sufficiently

regard or admire the boundless love of our prince to his people, who sought for peace at the risk of his own life.

Ye do rightly, O collegians, lifting up your eyes with amazement; I commend you, for there is nothing more wonderful than this journey, of which nevertheless ye do not yet possess all the fruit fully drawn out of the kernel. For what if, beside the marriage, offspring, peace, our most clever prince has also sought to gain even an increase of knowledge from this journey? Ye all know that nothing is more conducive to the acquirement of information than foreign travel, on which account all the ancient philosophers travelled in foreign lands, deeming 'that they who looked at a point* were blind; that those who went not abroad (looked) to those who had travelled.' Although this thing, as it is most useful for princes, so it is most difficult to be done, since the more they are able to do in their own country, the less they are able to do in a foreign land. Every kingdom is to its own prince a prison, or if he goes out of it a foreign kingdom is; but our prince overcoming the difficulty has attained to the fruit; for what is more useful than from observation of foreign laws and customs to enrich one's fatherland? It is a precept of Cato's, 'By what means thy neighbours are illustrious, apply thy mind to this consideration.' Add to this, that it is the mark of a nar-

* *i.e.* the little objects at home.

row or proud mind only to know its own things, especially since all things are not contained in one kingdom. Nature has divided her riches, and by the need of every several region she connects together all; for abundance is selfish and injurious towards others; whence rich men seek woods and defiles where they may build houses, as if they were not gregarious creatures, but tigers or bears. Wherefore Nature took thought most excellently for the peoples when she gave want as a chain whereby she might bind together nations remote and proud. Moreover, if we listen to politicians, the safety of kingdoms depends on neighbours, whose plans, preparations, treaties, defences, ought to be equally regarded with our own; let governments lean mutually upon one another like slanting beams, otherwise this great house of the world would fall to rack and ruin; hence kings have ambassadors, stationary and resident, which position our sweetest prince occupied; he himself acted the orator, that I may glory a little in this title.

And not foreign States only did he become acquainted with from this journey, but, which is more, with his own, by his absence more than by his presence. For now he has discovered our feelings towards himself, our fears, our sighs, our expostulations, our angers and, again, our love. Good God, what rumours there were then! what reports! what whisperings! Alas, has our prince, then, gone? O wretched that we are!

Never did we feel a colder summer. But whither, I pray? To Madrid? Ah, a sadly long journey! What is there in that place? A barren region they say it is. You are mistaken; nowhere are there more good things, since even bad things (apples?) there are of gold. Have you never heard of Tagus, Pactolus? With us fields only are fertile; there even the sands. Away with your apples and sand without stone! But I would have my prince—Charles, Charles. So hast thou gone alone? Why did we not all go with thee? Why, as elephants carry towers, didst thou not carry thy country with thee? So were all then murmuring; with lamentations and mournings of this sort all the market-places were full, the fairs, the clubs, the byways, the winding lanes. I will tell it to you, collegians; I was at that time more at liberty than usual, running about hither and thither at pleasure; I looked into men's faces and countenances with more than ordinary curiosity, like a buyer. May I have the love of you all, as I was able to discover nothing joyous, nothing bright; the eyes of all cast down, a dejected face, a neck bowed, hands crossed, the very women without elegance, no beauty throughout all Britain, grace disappeared, Albion fell from its (fair) name; the very sky was always cloudy, and it was a foolish poet who had said,

'That Britons are satisfied with a very short night.'

Thereupon I reasoned thus with myself: I rejoice in-

deed, on account of the mighty love for the prince, to whom no affection can be sufficient; but why do men so grieve? why do they fret? Do they distrust the wisdom of the king? Has not this affair been carried out by his counsel? I know that the Spaniard is clever, skilful, very knowing in art and craft; but James is on our side. Here I lifted myself up, and let go very much of my grief, naught of my longing. And in this condition, indeed, matters stood, O sweetest Charles, while thou wast absent; whence it was easily gathered how desperately we are in love with thee, how foolishly we wrangle about thee; so that I sometimes think that thy most wise father did the same when he sent thee away to Spain as the Roman commanders in war, who were accustomed to throw the standards amongst the enemy, in order that the soldiers might more eagerly seek to recover them. Certainly we all longed for thee when absent most eagerly, most passionately. Do you see, I pray, how useful was this journey, by means of which our most excellent prince not only got a thorough view of foreign regions, but also of his own?

What if also temperance here lies hid,—a virtue rare in princes, and between which and the sceptre contentions too often intervene? What then? Does this thing seem so trifling, that a prince, abounding and beset with all delights, surrounded with allurements and pleasures as if with bands, swims out of

delights, leaps over fences, bursts his bands with Hercules, slays the serpents of pleasure, in order that he might undertake such a journey, exposed to such toils and dangers? How I am ashamed of effeminate Cæsars, who, plunged in lusts, either fatten always in one place like eels, or if they change their place are carried like loads, are borne about on the softest litters, showing that they do not love their fatherland, from which they are so far removed! They so feed themselves daily as if their bodies would not pass at some time into the elements, but into cakes and sweetmeats; though nevertheless in that last dissolution there is no distinction of people or prince; there are no sceptres in the elements, no bundles of rods or axes. The vapours from slaves exhaled into the clouds will produce equally loud thunder with the vapours from kings. Why should I mention to you the gluttony of Neroes or Heliogabali? Why the belchings of drunkenness in possession of a throne? The day would fail me (and indeed the night would be more suitable for such a history) if I should open up the incredible luxury of Roman emperors, from Tiberius Cæsar to Constantine the Great, whose empire was not equal to their appetite; so that I sometimes think that God took most excellent thought for the frame of the earth, in placing stones and metals within it, otherwise the world would long ago have been eaten up. Well known are the embalmments of the Egyptians, who, before they pre-

pared with spices the bodies of the nobles, used to take out the bellies, which, deposited in a chest, they flung into the river with these words: 'O lord Sun, and all ye gods, if I have sinned at all against my own life, either in eating or drinking of things which were not lawful, I sinned not through myself, but through these.' But our prince, despising pleasures, casting aside allurements (honeyed stranglings), encounters a journey and labours, not ignorant that the flame of life is increased by exposure (to the air), is destroyed by inactivity, and that no one is more careless of himself than he who spares himself. Nay, he puts off the person of a prince, he lays down his majesty, exchanging his sceptre for a wand, that he might find out what advantage or pleasure a private life possesses. Nothing is more useful for a king than sometimes not to reign; for this cuts off pride, puts to the proof the dispositions of the mind, disperses flattery and flatterers, who are always tickling the ears of princes 'as if they were tickled in their ears with feathers.' Alfred, the most noble prince of our Saxons, having entered the camp of the enemy, under the feigned appearance of a harper, and the very tent of the general, and having, while singing to his harp, spied out all the counsels of the Danes, obtained a famous victory. Very well known is the love of Codrus, the showing of which to his own nation, he owed to (the assuming of) a private character and dress. Moreover, there is also sometimes

a certain satiety of honour, to lay aside which for a time excites hunger (for it again). Variety of life is no less pleasing than of the earth, which Nature has made diverse with mountains and valleys, with loftiness and lowness. Nay, even the winds govern the sea, that they may disturb that uniform smoothness and polished surface. In pictures there is a place for shadows and retired nooks, even if one paint a prince. All Nature loves variety—flowers, animals, and most especially man; in whom alone, therefore, are found eyes of various hues, when other living creatures have them of one colour. Wherefore it is not to be wondered at, if kings themselves sometimes temper their sweetnesses with common vinegar.

Ye have heard, most attentive sirs, the causes of this journey, as far as I, a humble and small man, can by conjecturing comprehend them. Wherefore now you may measure Hercules from his foot, the prince from his journey, which indeed was so noble and glorious, that envy itself has nothing to mouthe and mutter against it. Yet there is present that old woman, querulous and fond of finding fault, whom I seem to hear saying that 'it was a fine journey indeed, and worthy of a lover!' Say you so, O most wretched creature! But be it so; if the love of a maiden attracted the prince thither, whither, I pray, will the love of fatherland draw him? The same sharp edge cuts both a straw and a plank. The same zeal which, more than a match

for it, has served under the banner of love, if brought over to the true camp, will slay an enemy; the same force which traversed Spain will, if need be, conquer it, especially since it is more perilous to confide in a friend than to overcome an enemy. When Protagoras had fastened together in a bundle some logs of wood in an exceedingly graceful manner, walking along most easily with his huge and encumbered load, Democritus met him, and admiring his genius, took him home with him and instructed him in the arts; who thereupon from a carrier turned out a philosopher, displaying the same genius in logs and in letters. Who knows whether also the load of love skilfully fastened and tied, and carried easily through so many miles, may indicate a mind capable of greater things? There flourish with us all the arts, amongst which also are the mathematics; and though these are occupied in describing figures, than which nothing may seem more futile and useless to an inexperienced person, yet when they have been transferred to practical business, they construct wonderful engines for the defence of the State; so the same mind which lately has been occupied in the form and features of a face, when circumstances demand will defend a kingdom. Nay, to speak generally, if any one would rightly prognosticate of any prince who and what he is likely to be, let him not regard the matter of his actions, but with what spirit, with what skill, with what force and energy he sets about things; as in

the preannouncement of a comet, it is not considered what matter it is composed of, whether heavenly or earthly, but what are its signs, with what motion it crosses the sky.

But let us dismiss the envious, and envy, which always devours itself first, as a worm the kernel from which it takes its birth; it is not of so much consequence to reply to the barkings of the spiteful—though the British dogs are famous, and more famous than they deserve—when against nature they attack the young lion and their own master. In the Geoponici it is said, 'If you show a mirror to an overhanging cloud, the shower will pass away.' How much faster will slanders flee away if you show a mirror to envy, in which it may behold its own ugliness! But joys wait for *us*, the flowers of Parnassus, which have long been beckoning to me that I should bring my oration to an end. Cheerfully is this day to be spent. Wherefore come forth, ye literary darklings, from your dens, where three hundred acres of leaves in one day, sitting, ye run over; come forth, all of you. What news? What news, stupid! Our prince has come back; Charles has come back, laden with honour, laden with learning, (like a bee) with legs full of thyme. For as a vapour, which stealthily mounts to the clouds, where now it grows heavy with moisture, glides back to the earth, from whence it arose, and repays it with fruitfulness; so also our prince, who went forth secretly, climbing up

even to the Pyrenæan clouds, and returning over the sea increased in glory and wisdom, enriches his fatherland, makes up for his absence with usury. Wherefore throw away your books, every one of you; there is no room for seriousness, not even amongst you; Alma Mater will dance, though advanced in years: even an old woman jumping up and down may raise a good deal of dust. Arion brought home on a dolphin was welcomed by the trees dancing; and do *you* stand still?

Only let us pray the eternal God that our most excellent prince may plan no second journeys: hereafter let him restrain himself within his fatherland, from whose tight embraces he shall never disentangle himself. William the Conqueror, when first about to descend from his ships upon this land, fell into the mud, which intimated that he was going to remain here: I pray that even now so great may be the tenacity of his fatherland, that our prince may never extricate himself. Enough has been given to virtue, enough to the State. But if it is necessary that he should leave his fatherland again, having now found out the way, let him do it (once for all) in his quickly-approaching journey. Apollo of old, laying aside his beams, fell desperately in love with Daphne; but she was changed into the tree which belongs to those who triumph. Our prince also had his Daphne, whose love forthwith will be changed into triumphs and laurels.

We indeed, O hearers, having now travelled a long time with the prince, fitly arrive at this laurel, where, under its shade, we may rest awhile; especially until that cloud passes away which so annoys our neighbours; for here we are secure from rain, nay (also) from lightning. We beseech him only to permit this our

'Ivy mid his conquering laurels creep.'

I have spoken.

ORATIO DOMINI GEORGIJ HERBERT,

ORATORIS ACADEMIÆ CANTABRIGIENSIS,

HABITA CORAM DOMINIS LEGATIS CUM MAGISTRO IN ARTIB. TITULIS INSIGNIRENTUR,

27 Febr. 1622.

Excellentissimi magnificentissimi Domini,

Post honores eximios, præfecturas insignes, legationes nobilissimas, aliosq. titulos æque nobis memorantibus ac merentibus vobis gratissimos, saluete tandem Magistri Artium, et quidem omnium aulicarum, militarium, academicarum. Cujus novi tituli accessionem summe gratulantur Excellentijs vestris Musæ omnes Gratiæq. obsecrantes, vt deponatis paulisper vultus illos bellicos, quibus hostes soletis in potestatem redigere, lenioresq. aspectus, et dulciores assumatis; nos etiam

exuentes os illud, et supercilium quibus caperatam seuerioremq philosophiam expugnare nouimus, quicquid hilare est, lætum, ac lubens, vestram in gratiam amplectimur. Quid enim jucundius accidere potest, quam ut ministri Regis catholici ad nos accedant? cujus ingens gloria æque rotunda est atq. ipse orbis: qui utrasque Indias Hispania sua quasi modo connectens, nullas metas laudum, nullas Herculeas columnas, quas jam olim possidet, agnoscit. Jamdudum nos omnes, nostrumq. regnum gestimus fieri participes ejus sanguinis, qui tantos spiritus solet infundere. Et quod observatione cum primis dignum est, quo magis amore coalescamus, utraq. gens Hispanica, Britannica, colimus Jacobum. Jacobus tutelaris divus est utriq. nostrum; ut satis intelligatis, Excellentias vestras tanto chariores esse, cum eo sitis ordine atque habitu, quo nos in hoc regno omnes esse gloriamur. Quin et Serenissimæ Principis Isabellæ laudes, virtutesq., vicinum fretum quotidie transnatantes, litora nostra atq. aures mire circumsonant. Necesse est autem vt felicitas tantorum Principum etiam in ministros redundet, quorum in eligendis illis judicium jampridem apparet. Quare, excellentissimi, splendidissimi Domini, cum tanti sitis et in principibus vestris et in vobismetipsis, veremur ne nihil hic sit, quod magnitudini præsentiæ vestræ respondeat. Quis enim apud nos splendor aut rerum aut vestium? quæ rutilatio? Certe, cum duplex fulgor sit, qui mundi oculos perstringat, nos tam defecimus

in utroq. quam Excellentiæ vestræ abundant. Quinimo artes hic sunt quietæ, et silentio cultæ, tranquillitas, otium, pax omnibus præterquam tineis, paupertas perpetua, nisi vbi vestræ adsunt Excellentiæ. Nolite tamen contemnere has gloriolas nostras, quas e chartis et pulvere eruimus. Quomodo possetis símiles esse Alexandro Magno, nisi ejus res gestas tradidisset historia? seritur fama in hoc sæculo, vt in sequenti metatur: prius Excellentijs vestris curæ erit; posterioris largam messem vobis hæc tenuia boni consulentibus, vouemus.

THE ORATION OF MASTER GEORGE HERBERT,

ORATOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,

WHEN THE AMBASSADOURS WERE MADE MASTERS OF ARTS,

27 Feb. 1622.

Most excellent and most magnificent Lords,

After many singular honors, remarkable commands, most noble ambassages, and other titles most pleasing, as well to vs remembring as to you deseruing them, wee at last salute you Masters of Arts, yea indeed of all, both courtly, militarie, academicall. The accession of which new title to your Excellencies all the Muses and Graces congratulate; entreating that you would a while lay aside those warlike lookes with which you vse to conquer your enemies, and assume more mild

and gracious aspects; and wee also, putting off that countenance and gravitie by which we well know how to conuince the sterne and more austere sort of philosophie, for respect to you, embrace all that is cheerefull, joyous, pleasing; for what could haue happened more pleasing to vs then the accesse of the officers of the catholike King, whose exceeding glory is equally round with the world it self? who, tying as with a knot both Indias to his Spaine, knowes no limits of his praise; no, not as in past ages those pillars of Hercules. Long since all we and our whole kingdom exult with ioy to bee vnited with that bloud which vseth to infuse so great and worthie spirits. And that which first deserueth our obseruation, to the end wee might the more by loue grow on, both the Spanish and Brittish nation serue and worship Iames. Iames is the protecting saint vnto vs both, that you may well conceiue your Excellencies to bee more deare vnto vs, in that you are of the same order and habit* of which wee all in this kingdome glorie to be. The praises also and vertues of the most renowned Princesse Isabel, passing daily our neighboring sea, wondrously sound through all our coasts and eares. And necessarily must the felicitie of so great princes redound also to those seruants, in the choice of whom their iudgement doth euen now appeare. Wherefore, most exccellent,

* The allusion is to the orders and habits of the different monks, as St. Benedict, &c. G.

most illustrious Lords, since you are so great both in your princes and your selues, wee iustly fear that there is nothing here answerable to the greatnesse of your presence; for amongst vs what glorious shew is there, either of garments or of anything else? what splendor? Surely, since there is a two-fold brightnesse* which dazeleth the eyes of men, we haue as much failed as your Excellencies doe excel in both. But yet the arts in quietnes and silence here are reuerenced; here is tranquilitie, repose, peace, with all but booke-wormes, perpetual pouertie, but when your Excellencies appeare. Yet doe not yee contemne these our slight glories, which wee raise from bookes and painefull industrie. How could you bee like great Alexander, vnless historie deliuered his actions? Fame is sowne in this age, that it may be reaped in the following; let the first be the care of your Excellencies; we for your gracious acceptance of these poore duties wish and vow vnto you of the last a plenteous haruest.

* =outward and inward. G.

VII.

LETTERS.

NOTE.

By the kindness of the present Public Orator of the University of Cambridge (R. C. Jebb, Esq. M.A.), the whole of the Public-Orator Letters of Herbert have been collated with the original MSS. The others—Latin and English—are from the Life by Walton (1670 onward) and various other sources, as pointed out in the places and in the Preface to the present volume. A long and most interesting one to Herbert's successor (Dr. Creighton) is printed for the first time from the Williams MSS. These Letters have never before been translated.

It may be noted here, with reference to the opening Letters, that the University entered into a bitter controversy with certain speculators who, in promoting the drainage of the fen-country, threatened to damage the 'Cam' (the river). Full details will be found in Cooper's 'Annals' *s.v.*, and other histories. All the usual biographical authorities give ample information—additional to our brief Notes—on the various historical persons addressed in these Letters. G.

LETTERS OF GEORGE HERBERT.

FROM THE PUBLIC ORATOR'S BOOK, CAMBRIDGE, AND WILLIAMS MSS.

Part I. Latin.

1. Ad R. Naunton, Secret.

Gratiae de Fluvio.

Vir honoratissime,

Quanta hilaritate aspicit Alma Mater filios suos jam emancipatos, conservantes sibi illos fontes a quibus ipsi olim hauserunt! Quis enim sicca ubera et mammas arentes tam nobilis parentis æquo animo ferre posset? neque sane dubitamus ulli, si præ defectu aquæ commeatusque inopia desererentur collegia, pulcherrimæque Musarum domus tanquam viduæ effœtæ, aut ligna exvcca et marcida, alumnis suis orbarentur, quin communes reipublicæ lachrymæ alterum nobis fluuium effunderent. Quare plurimum debemus constantiæ fauoris tui, qui restinxisti sitim exarescentium Musarum et Xerxes istos, alterosque maris quasi flagellatores expugnatos fusosque nobis dedisti. Quid enim

invident aquas, quas non nobis habemus sed irrigati ipsi vniuersum regnum aspergimus. Sed aliorum iniuriæ tuarum virtutum pabula sunt, qui lemas istas et festucas, reipublicæ oculo hærentes tam diligenter amoues; certe adeo festinasti ad gratitudines tuas cúm emolumento nostro coniunctas, ut iam compensemur abunde, neque amplius quærendum sit tibi, Almæ Nutrici, quid reponas.

To R. Naunton, Secretary.

[See note 20, p. 105.]

Thanks for the River.

Most honoured Sir,

With what joyfulness Alma Mater beholds her sons now set free (from her authority), preserving for her those fountains from which they themselves have formerly drunk! For who could calmly tolerate the dry breasts and moistureless teats of so noble a mother? Nor indeed do any of us feel a doubt, if owing to want of water and lack of supplies the colleges should be abandoned, and the beautiful dwellings of the Muses, like worn-out widows or sapless and withered logs, should be deprived of their foster-children, but that the general tears of the commonwealth would pour forth for us another river. Wherefore we owe the greatest thanks to the steadiness of thy good will, who hast quenched the thirst of the Muses, which were

becoming dry, and hast exhibited to us those Xerxes-like tyrants and those second scourgers of the sea (so to speak) completely beaten and put to the rout. For why do they envy us the waters which we do not keep to ourselves, but which, as we ourselves are dispersed, we sprinkle over the whole realm? But the wrong-doings of others are the food of thy virtues, who dost so carefully brush away these humours and straws that cling to the eye of the commonwealth; certainly thou hast made such good speed to the expression of thy thanks coupled with our advantage, that already we are plentifully recompensed, nor ought it ever to be asked by thee again what thou shouldst pay back to thy kind nursing-mother.

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2. Ad Ful. Grevil.

Gratiae de Fluvio.

Vir honoratissime,

Scite et apposite fecisti fluuium nostrum conservans altero eloquentiæ fluuio, paludumque istos siccatores (solem officio suo privantes), vi verborum tuorum obruens. Neque sane quisquam incedit te instructior ad omnem causam, paratiorve siue a doctrina, siue ab vsu; vtrinque mirus es et exercitatissimus; quare nos tertium prædictis adiungimus gratiarum fluuium, de humanitate tua singulari, studioque

in nos iam olim perspectissimo, quippe qui eximie semper fouisti literatos, eosque cum tineis et blattis rixantes, exuens pulvere in theatrum et lucem produxisti. Tantum rogamus, vt pergas, et inter nouos honorum cumulos, quod expectamus indies futurum, Almæ Matris amorem tecum simul evchas. Interim, si qui alii exurgant promissores magnifici et hiantes, qui sub specie publici commodi, Academiæ incommodum videntur allaturi, os importunorum hominum authoritate tua plurima et eloquentia non minori nobis obstrue.

To Fulk Greville.

[Lord Brooke: born 1554, died Sept. 30, 1628. Complete Works, 4 vols. (Fuller Worthies' Library). G.]

Thanks for the River.

Most honoured Sir,

Cleverly and fitly hast thou done, preserving our river with a second river of eloquence, and overwhelming those drainers of the marshes (who deprive the sun of its function) with the force of thy words. Nor indeed does any one approach to every cause better furnished than thyself or more fully prepared, whether by learning or by practice; in both respects thou art wonderful and most thoroughly versed; wherefore to those before named we add a third river of thanks for thy eminent kindness and zeal towards us now for a long time most conspicuous, since thou art one who

hast always exceedingly cherished learned men, and, drawing out of the dust those that are battling with moths and beetles, hast brought them forth to an opportunity of displaying what is in them, and to the light of day. We only ask that thou wouldest go on, and amid new heaps of honours (the thing which we expect will daily occur), that thou wouldst carry up along with thee the love of Alma Mater. In the mean while, if there should rise up any other bragging and wide-mouthed promisers, who, under the show of public benefit seem likely to bring damage to the University, do thou on our behalf stop the mouth of troublesome men by thy very great influence and by thy eloquence, which does not fall short of it.

3. Ad R. Naunton.

Gratiae de Fluvio et de tegendis Tectis stramineis.

Vir honoratissime,

Eximia tua in nos merita frequentiorem calamum postulant, si tantum honori tuo superesset otii ad legendum, quantum a nobis ad scribendum, cum humanitatis tuæ, tum gratitudinis nostræ ratio postulat. Sed veremur ne literæ nostræ animo tuo tot negotiis meritissime distincto, tempore non suo obrepant: tibique non tam auide veterum beneficiorum memoriam recolenti, quam cogitanti nova improbe molestiam crecnt

Quare coniunximus nunc officia nostra tuosque fauores temporibus et diligentia diuisos in gratiis nostris copulauimus: nam utramque illam curam insignem, tam de conservando fluuio nostro, quam de muniendis contra grassantes flammas ædificiis honori tuo acceptam ferimus: plurimumque suspicimus cumulum amoris tui, qui vtrumque cvrasti, vt neque sitirent Musæ, neque flagrarent: quod si tam integrum tibi esset gratificari nobis in terra et aere, quam in aqua et igne fecisti, non dubitamus quin benignitas tua omnia elementa percurreret. Tu vero macte honoribus, gloria, id enim nostra interest, vt hoc precemur, aut enim misere fallimur aut tantum de nullo vnquam filio Alma Mater, quantum de te sibi polliceatur.

To R. Naunton.

[See note 20, p. 105.]

Most honoured Sir,

Thy eminent services to us demand a more frequent pen-(acknowledgment). If only your honour possessed as much leisure for reading as we for writing, the nature alike of thy kindness and of our gratitude demands it. But we are afraid lest our letter should intrude on thy mind, most necessarily distracted by so many duties, at a time not seasonable, and should improperly cause trouble to thee, not so eagerly cherishing the remembrance of old kindnesses as meditating new ones. Wherefore we have joined our duties, and we

have coupled in our thanks thy favours separated by the times and (thy) carefulness. For we put down to your honour as received each of those eminent services, as well with regard to preserving our river as defending the buildings against raging flames; and we look up with wonder at the huge accumulation of thy love, who hast taken measures equally that the Muses should neither thirst nor burn. But if it were as much in thy power to do us a favour in the land and air as thou hast done in the water and fire, we do not doubt but thy kindness would run through all the elements. Do thou indeed go on and prosper in honours and glory; for it concerns us to pray for this; for either we are wretchedly deceived, or never concerning any son of hers may Alma Mater make such promises to herself as concerning thee.

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4. Gratulatio de Marchionatu ad Buckingh. C.

A.D. 1619.

Illustrissime Domine,

Ecquid inter tot gloriæ titulos caput vndique munientes meministi Magistrum te esse Artium? an inter lauros principis hederæ nostræ ambitiosæ locus est? Hunc quidem gradum pignus habes amoris nostri, hæc est ansa qua prehendimus te, et tanquam aquilam inter novas honorum nubes e conspectu nostro fugientem revocamus. Tu vicissim abunde compensas nos, gratissi-

moque Almam Matrem prosequeris animo: proin vt fluuii quas aquas a fonte accipiunt non retinent ipsi, sed in mare dimittunt; sic tu etiam dignitates ab optimo Rege desumptas in universam Rempublicam diffundis: per te illucet nobis Jacobus noster. Tu aperis illum populo, et cum ipse sis in summa arbore altera manu prehendis Regem, alteram nobis ad radices hærentibus porrigis. Quare, meritissime Marchio, tuam gloriam censemus nostram, et in honoribus tuis nostro bono gratulamur; quanquam quem alium fructum potuimus expectare ab eo in quem favor regius, nostra vota virtutes tantæ confluxerunt: inter quæ etiam certamen oritur et pia contentio, vtrum gratia Principis virtutes tuas, aut nostra vota gratiam Principis, aut tuæ virtutes et vota nostra, et Principis gratiam superarent. Nimirum vt lineæ quamvis diversa via, omnes tamen ad centrum properant; sic disparatæ felicitates hinc a populo illinc a Principe in te conveniunt et confabulantur. Quare quomodo alii molem hanc lætitiæ suæ exprimant, ipsi viderint: nos certe precamur, vt neque virtutibus tuis desint honores neque vtrisque vita, vsquedum, postquam omnes honorum gradus hic percurreris, æternum illud præmium consequare, cui neque addi quicquam potest, neque detrahi.

Congratulation on his Marquisate to the Earl of Buckingham.

[*The* Buckingham of history: born 1592, died Aug. 23, 1628. See our Essay (in Vol. II.) on Herbert's courtly character (earlier), which this letter confirms, as do others also. G.]

1619.

Most illustrious Lord,

Dost thou, amid so many titles of glory encircling thy head on every side, remember that thou art a Master of Arts? Or amid the laurels of a prince is there room for our entwining ivy? This degree thou dost hold as the pledge of our love. This is the handle by which we grasp thee, and like an eagle amid new clouds of honours flying out of our sight, we call thee back. Thou in turn dost make us abundant amends, and with most grateful mind dost honour Alma Mater. Hence, as rivers which receive waters from a fountain do not themselves retain them, but send them down to the sea; so thou also dost diffuse the dignities derived from our most excellent King over the whole commonwealth. Through thee our James shines upon us; thou dost display him to the people; and inasmuch as thou thyself art on the top of the tree, with one hand thou dost lay hold upon the King, and the other thou dost stretch out to us, clinging to the roots. Wherefore, most deserving Marquis, thy glory we account our own, and in thy honours we congratulate our own advantage; although what other fruits could we expect from him on

whom the royal favour, our prayers, and such great virtues converged? amid which things a strife even arises and a pious contest, whether the grace of the prince surpassed thy virtues, or our prayers the grace of the prince, or thy virtues both our prayers and the prince's grace. Surely, as straight lines, although by different ways, nevertheless all hasten to the centre; so diverse felicities on this side from the people, on that side from the prince, meet in thee and discourse together. Wherefore, how others may express this hugeness of their joy (at thy prosperity), let them see to it. We certainly pray that neither honours may be wanting to thy merits, nor life to both, even until after thou hast run through all degrees of honours here, thou mayst attain to that everlasting reward, to which nothing can be added, and from which nothing can be taken away.

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5. Ad F. Bacon, Cancell.

Gratiae de Instaurationis Libro Academiae donato.

4 Nov. 1620.

Illustrissime Domine,

Prolem tuam suavissimam, nuper in lucem publicam, nostramque præsertim, editam, non gremio solum (quod innuis), sed et ambabus vlnis osculisque, ei ætati debitis, excipientes, protinus tanquam nobilem

filium (more nostro) magistrum artium renunciauimus. Optime enim hoc conuenit partui tuo, qui nouas scientiarum regiones, terrasque veteribus incognitas primus demonstrat; ex quo illustrius assecutus es nomen, quam repertores noui orbis compararunt. Illi terram invenerunt, crassissimum elementum; tu subtilitates artium infinitas. Illi barbara omnia; tu non nisi cultissima, elegantiasque ipsas exhibes. Illi magnetica acu freti sunt; tu penetrantiori intellectus acumine, cuius nisi incredibilis fuisset vis, nunquam in tantis negotiis, quibus meritissime districtus es, ea quæ fugerunt tot philosophos vmbra et otio diffluentes, eruisses. Quare multiplex est lætitia nostra: primo gratulamur optimo Regi nostro, qui prospicit, vt cum ipse eruditionis Princeps sit; illi etiam honores qui finitimi sunt, et quasi accolæ maiestatis, literaturæ suæ et vicinitati respondeant: dein hon. tuo gratulamur, qui filio auctus es tali ingenio prædito: tum Academiæ nostræ, quæ per tuum partum, ex matre nunc avia facta est: denique huic ætati quæ talem virum protulit, cum quinque millibus annorum de palma certantem. Id vnum dolemus, Bibliothecam nostram rudiorem esse impexioremque, quam vt tantum hospitem excipiat: vtcunque cum olim ab Archiepiscopo* Eboracensi summo Angliæ Cancellario extructa fuerit: illam nunc denuo ex ædibus Eboracensibus ab altero Cancellario instaurari, inter arcana Prouidentiæ plane reponimus.

* Rotheram.

Faxit Deus vt quos profectus feceris in sphæra Naturæ, facias etiam in Gratiæ: vtque mature absoluas quæ complexus es animo, ad eius gloriam, Reipublicæ emolumentum, æternitatem nominis tui subsidiumque. Magnificentiæ tuæ devotissimorum Procancellarii reliq.

To Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor.

Thanks for his Book of 'Instauratio' presented to the University.

[See the Poems to and in memory of Bacon in Vol. II. pp. 159-166. York House was Bacon's town residence. G.]

Nov. 4, 1620.

Most illustrious Lord,

Thy most delightful progeny lately brought forth to the public sight, and to ours especially, we, welcoming not with our bosom alone (as thou hintest), but with both our arms and with the kisses due to that age, proclaim forthwith, as a nobleman's son (according to our custom*), a Master of Arts. For this is admirably fitting for thy offspring, which is the first to point out new regions of sciences and lands unknown to the ancients, from which thou hast gained a more illustrious name than the discoverers of a new world have acquired. They have discovered land, the

* A nobleman's son at Cambridge was made M.A. as soon as he had passed the examination for B.A. degree, instead of waiting three years for it. G.

most gross element; thou, boundless subtleties of arts. They have discovered all things barbarous; thou, nothing but the most refined;—elegancies themselves thou dost display. They have relied on the magnetic needle; thou, on the more penetrating sharpness of the intellect, the force of which, if it had not been incredible, never, amid such businesses as thou hast been most properly distracted with, wouldst thou have brought to light those things which have escaped so many philosophers revelling in retirement and leisure. Wherefore manifold is our gladness. In the first place, we congratulate our most excellent King, who provides that, as he himself is a prince of erudition, those honours also which are nearest to him, and as it were the neighbours of majesty, should answer to his own literature and proximity; next we congratulate your honour, who hast been blest with a child endowed with such genius; then our University, which by thy offspring, from a mother has now been made a grandmother; lastly, this age, which has produced such a man, who contends for the mastery with five thousand years. This one regret we feel, that our library is too rude and uncouth to welcome so great a guest; however, since formerly it was built by an Archbishop of York, Lord High Chancellor of England, that now again by another chancellor from York House it should be restored, we clearly reckon among the mysteries of Providence. God grant that the same advances which

thou hast made in the sphere of nature, thou mayst also make in that of grace, and that in due time thou mayst complete the things which thou hast embraced in mind to His glory, the advantage of the commonwealth, and the eternity and benefit of thy own name. On behalf of those most devoted to thy magnificence, the Vice-Chancellor and the rest.

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6. Ad T. Coventry, Attorn.

Cognitor. Gratulatio.

29 Jan. 1620.

Clarissime Vir,

Permitte vt nos etiam in prædam partemque tecum veniamus: neque enim sic effugies cum honoribus, quin lætitia nostra te assequetur: certe non diu est ex quo gratulati sumus tibi: eccum nunc altera occasio, adeo festinat virtus tua: quod si tertia detur et quarta, paratos nos habebis ad gratulationem, vt sic vna opera vtriusque reipublicæ calculum et ciuilis et literariæ adipiscaris. Tu vero promptitudinem amoris nostri non passim expositam boni consulas, curesque vt tuus in nos amor antehac satis perspectus, nunc cum honore geminetur. Quod si forense quippiam nos spectans, dum incumbis muneri occurrat, nos chartis et æternitate occupatos, temporariis hisce negotiolis libera. Haud frustra impendes operam nobis, omnia fauorum tuorum momenta apicesque perpensuris et compensaturis.

To T. Coventry, Attorney-General.

[Thomas Coventry, eldest son of Thomas Coventry, was an eminent lawyer, and one of the judges of the Common Pleas. Born 1578; educated at Balliol College, Oxford; afterwards of the Inner Temple; appointed Solicitor-General and knighted March 14, 1616-17; Attorney-General, Jan. 11, 1620-21; Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Nov. 1, 1625; created Baron Coventry, as of Aylesborough, county Worcester, April 10, 1628. Known in history as 'Lord Keeper Coventry.' He died at Durham House in the Strand, London, Jan. 14, 1639-40, and was buried in the family vault at Croome d'Abitot in Worcestershire. G.]

Congratulation on being appointed Attorney-General.

Jan. 29, 1620.

Most illustrious Sir,

Permit that we also should come to a share of the spoil with thee; for thou shalt never fly away so far with thy honours but our joy shall overtake thee. Certainly it is not long since we congratulated thee; lo, now there is a second opportunity, in such haste is thy merit; but if a third and fourth be given, thou wilt find us ready for congratulation, so that thus at the same time thou mayst obtain the vote of either republic, both civil and literary. Do thou indeed take in good part the promptitude of our affection, not displayed in all directions, and do thou see to it that thy affection for us, hitherto sufficiently conspicuous, may now be doubled with honour. But if while thou appliest thyself to thy office, any legal matter touching us should occur, do thou set us free, who are occupied with books

and with eternity, from such trivial and temporary concerns. Not in vain wilt thou bestow trouble upon us, who are ready to weigh and to repay each little point and particular of thy favours.

7. Ad R. Naunt, Burgen. elect.

13 Jan. 1620.

Honoratissime Domine,

Tam eximie de nobis meritus es, vt res nostras omnes cum honore tuo coniunctas esse velimus. Quare frequentissimo Senatu, plenissimis suffragiis elegimus te tribunum Parlamentarium, nos nostraque omnia priuilegia fundos, ædificia, vniuersam Musarum supellectilem, etiam Fluuium non minus de præterito gratum, quam de futuro supplicem, integerrimæ tuæ fidei commendantes. Magna est hæc, neque quotidianæ virtutis provincia gerere personam Academiæ, omniumque Artium molem et pondus sustinere; sed perspectissimus tuus in nos amor, præstantissimæque animi dotes effecerunt, vt Alma Mater libentissime caput reclinet in tuo sinu, oculusque Reipub. postquam circumspiciens reperisset te, quasi in tuis palpebris acquiescat. Quare nos omnes ad prudentiæ eloquentiæque tuæ præsidium festinantes excipe: Antiquitas præripuit tibi gloriam extruendæ Academiæ, reliquit conservandæ. Deus faueat tibi, et concedat ut terrestres tui honores cum cœlestibus certent et superentur!

To R. Naunton, elected M.P.

[See note 20, p. 105.]

Jan. 13, 1620.

Most honoured Sir,

So highly hast thou deserved of us, that we wish all our affairs to be united with thy honour. Wherefore in a most crowded senate and with the most abundant votes we have chosen thee Member of Parliament, committing ourselves and all our privileges, estates, buildings, the whole household goods of the Muses, also our river—no less thankful for the past than suppliant for the future—to thy most entire fidelity. Great is this function, and not belonging to everyday merit, to represent a University, and to bear the weight and burden of all the Arts; but thy most conspicuous love towards us, and the gifts of thy most distinguished mind, have brought it to pass that Alma Mater most willingly leans her head on thy bosom; and the eye of the commonwealth (of letters), after having looked round and found thee, reposes as it were under thy eyelids. Wherefore receive us all, hastening to the protection of thy wisdom and eloquence. Antiquity has snatched from thee beforehand the glory of rearing a University; it has left thee the glory of preserving one. God be gracious to thee, and grant that thy earthly honours may contend with thy heavenly ones, and be overcome!

8. Gratulatio ad Mountaeg. Thesaurar.

18 Dec. 1620.

Illustrissime Domine,

Pendulam hanc dignitatem diu expectantem magnas aliquas virtutes tandem meritis tuis votisque nostris conspirantibus obtinuisti. Quis enim rectiùs Thesauris Regiis præfici possit, quam qui justitiam prius tanto cum honore atque acclamatione administrans, distribuendi modum omnem rationemque callet? Et licet, quo proprior sis Regi, eo videaris nobis remotior, confidimus tamen ut arbores quanto altius crescunt, tanto etiam altius agunt radices: sic merita tua ita ascensura, vt eorum vis et virtus ad nos descendat. Quare summe gratulamur tibi de nouo hoc cumulo honorum, qui tamen votis nostris nondum respondent. Ea est enim pertinacia desideriorum nostrorum, atque immortalitas, vt semper post nouas dignitates, alias tibi quærant et moliantur. Nimirum id assecuta sunt merita tua maxima, vt Almam Matrem spe noua grauidam semper atque prægnante effecerint. Tantum quocunque Domine ascendas, sume tecum amorem illum quo soles beare

Amplitudini tuæ devotissimos

Procancellarium. Rel.

Congratulation to Montagu, Treasurer.

[Henry Montagu, 3d son of Sir Edward Montagu of Boughton, county of Northampton, where he was born about 1563; knighted at the coronation of King James I. He rose to the rank of Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1616, and as such pronounced the sentence on Sir Walter Raleigh. He became Lord Treasurer Dec. 14, 1620, and subsequently Lord Privy Seal. On Feb. 5, 1625-26 he was created Earl of Manchester. He died Nov. 7, 1642, and was buried at Kimbolton. G.]

Dec. 18, 1620.

Most illustrious Sir,

This undecided honour long waiting for some great merits, at length, thy deserts and our desires conspiring, thou hast obtained. For who may more properly be set over the royal treasuries than one who, previously administering justice with so much respect and applause, is acquainted with every mode and manner of distribution? And although the nearer thou mayst be to the King, the further thou mayst seem from us, nevertheless we trust that, as trees, the higher they grow, the deeper they strike their roots, thus thy deserts will so ascend that the force and efficacy of them may descend to us. Wherefore we warmly congratulate thee on this new addition of honours, which nevertheless do not yet answer to our prayers. For such is the perseverance and immortality of our longings, that ever, after new honours, they are seeking and planning others for thee. Surely thy very great

deserts have attained this (result), that they have made Alma Mater to be always teeming with new hope. Only, sir, whithersoever thou mayst ascend, take with thee that love with which thou art wont to make happy

Thy Highness's most devoted,

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR AND THE REST.

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9. GRATULATIO AD HEATH, SOLLICITOR-PROCURATOR.

29 Jan. 1620.

VIR DIGNISSIME,

Sic a natura comparatum est, ignis et virtus semper ascendunt, vtriusque enim splendor et claritas humilia loca deprecantur. Quare optime fecit Rex Serenissimus, qui virtutes tuas magnis negotiis et pares provexit, noluitque ut minori sphæra quam pro latitudine meritorum tuorum circumscribereris. Nos vero de hoc tuo progressu non minus Reipublicæ gratulamur quam tibi; rogamusque vt quando beneficia tua pervagantur Angliam, nos etiam invisant: ita excipiemus illa, vt benignius hospitium, et erga te propensius, haud vsquam forsitan reperias.

Congratulation to Heath, Solicitor-General.

[Sir Robert Heath, son of Richard Heath of Brasted, county Kent: born May 20, 1575; educated at St. John's, Cambridge; afterwards of the Inner Temple; Solicitor-General, Jan. 22, 1620-21; Attorney-General, Oct. 31, 1625; Chief Justice of Common Pleas, Oct. 26, 1631, but removed Sept. 14, 1634; Judge of King's Bench, Jan. 23, 1640-41; and May 13 following, appointed Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries; and in 1643, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, but deprived by the Parliament. Fled into France in 1646, and died at Calais Aug. 30, 1649. His remains were brought to England and buried at Brasted. See our edition of Crashaw, vol. ii. p. 327. G.]

Jan. 29, 1620.

Most worthy Sir,

So has it been ordered by Nature—fire and virtue always go up; the splendour and brightness of each shrink from low places. Wherefore our most serene King has done most excellently, both in advancing thy merits to a level with great affairs, and in being unwilling that thou shouldst be confined in a smaller sphere than is consistent with the extent of thy deserts. We indeed do not less congratulate the republic than thee concerning this advancement of thine; and we beg that when thy kindnesses wander over England they may also visit us. In such a way shall we welcome them, that nowhere else perchance mayst thou find a lodging more bountiful and kindly disposed towards thyself.

10. [Jacobo Regi] Gratiæ de Scriptis suis Academiæ donatis.

18 Maii 1620.

Serenissime Domine noster, Jacobe invictissime,

Ecquid inter tantas mundi trepidationes nobis et Musis vacas? O prudentiam incomparabilem, quæ eodem vultu et moderatur mundum et nos respicit. Circumspice, si placet, terrarum reges; mutus est mundus vniuersus; vestra solum dextra (quamvis a scriptione terrestribusque istis sublimitate solii asserta) vita et actione orbem vegetat. Angustior erat Scotia, quam ut pennas nido plene explicare posses: quid tu inde? Britannicas insulas omnes occupasti: hoc etiam imperium tenuius est quam pro amplitudine virtutum vestrarum: nunc itaque Liber hic vester dilatat pomœria, summouet Oceanum ambientem, adeo vt qui non subjiciuntur ditioni, eruditioni vestræ obtemperent: per hunc imperas orbi vniuerso, victoriæque gloriam absque crudelitate effusi sanguinis delibas. Hæc vestra spolia, actosque ex orbe trivmphos communicas cum Alma Matre, vtrumque splendorem cum beneficio nostro coniungis: sane, gestabaris antea in cordibus nostris; sed tu vis etiam manibus teri, semotaque Majestate, charta conspiciendum te præbes, quo familiarius inter nos verseris. O mirificam clementiam! Ædificarunt olim nobis serenissimi Reges collegia, eaque fundarunt amplissimis prædiis, immunitatibus;

etiam libros dederunt, sed non suos : aut si suos, quia dederunt, non a se compositos, scriptos, editosque : quum tamen tu invaseris eorum gloriam conservando nobis quæ illi dederunt, etiam augendo ; interim vestra hac scribendi laude intacta manente atque illibata. Cujus favoris magnitudo ita involuit nos, ut etiam rependendi vias omnes præcludat. Quæ enim alia spes reliqua erat, quam vt pro infinitis vestris in nos beneficiis Majestatem vestram æternitati in scriptis nostris certissime traderemus? Nunc vero ipse, scribendo irrupisti in compensationes nostras, et abstulisti : adeon' es prædo omnis gloriæ, vt ne gratitudinis laudem nobis reliqueris? Quid agimus? hoc saltem solutio est : nos nunc conspersi atramento regio, nihil non sublime et excelsum cogitabimus, perrumpemus controuersias omnes, superabimus quoscunque. Jam dari nobis vellemus Jesuitam aliquem, vt ex affrictu Libri vestri hominem illico contundamus. Quare amplectimur, fouemus, exosculamur, hunc fœtum vestrum, hunc alterum Carolum, hunc fasciculum prudentiæ, positum extra mortalitatis aleam, et quo magis tuum agnoscas, in ipso partu, Librorum regem creatum. Diruuntur ædificia, corrumpuntur statuæ, hæc imago atque character, tempore melior, iniurias seculi scriptaque hac illac pereuntia securus præterit. Si enim in regno vestro Hibernico lignum nascitur permanens contra omnia venena validum, quanto magis virtutes istæ in Dominum agri transferendæ sunt ; vt, sic scripta vestra omni dente, tum edacis temporis

tum venenatorum hæreticorum, insita vi sua liberentur. Quod superest, precamur, SS. Trinitatem, vt vestræ coronæ ciuili et literariæ, tertiam cœlestem sero adjungat.

Humillimi servi subditique vestri

PROCANCELLARIUS

RELIQUUSQUE SENATUS CANTABRIGIENSIS.

Datæ freq. Senatu xiii. Cal. Jun. A.D. CIↃ.IↃ.CXX.

Peregrinis Academiam nostram invisentibus, 'Quid Vaticanam Bodleiumque objicis, Hospes? Unicus est nobis Bibliotheca Liber.'

To KING JAMES.

Thanks for his Writings

Presented to the University.

[See our Memorial-Introduction (Vol. I. pp. xlv.-xlvi.), and Essay (Vol. II. pp. xl.-xlii. and elsewhere), on this Letter, &c. G.]

May 18, 1620.

What!—amidst such shakings of the world, hast thou any leisure for us and the Muses? O incomparable wisdom! which with the same countenance both controls the world and considers us. Look round, if it please thee, on the kings of the earth. Silent is the whole world; your right hand alone (although claimed, and called away, by the loftiness of the throne from writing, and such terrestrial things) quickens the globe

with life and action. Scotland was too narrow for thee to be able fully to unfold thy wings from the nest. What didst thou do thereupon? Thou didst take possession of all the British Isles. Even this empire was too slender for the vastness of your virtues, So now this book of yours enlarges the bounds, removes the encircling ocean; so that they who are not subject to your power (*ditio*) acknowledge your learning (*eruditio*). By this (book) thou dost command the whole world, and dost taste the glory of victory without the cruelty of bloodshed. These your spoils and triumphs, celebrated over the world, thou sharest with Alma Mater, and the double glory thou dost unite with kindness to us. Truly thou wast borne before in our hearts; but thou wishest also to be thumbed in our hands; and laying aside thy majesty, thou dost offer thyself to be gazed upon on paper, that thou mayst be more intimately conversant amongst us. O astonishing benignity! Most serene kings in old time have built for us colleges, and endowed them with most ample estates and privileges; even books they have presented, but not their own; or if their own, inasmuch as they gave them, yet not composed, written, published by themselves: whilst yet thou hast assayed their glory by preserving to us, and even increasing, what they gave, in the mean while this your own praise of writing (a book) remaining untouched and untasted (except by yourself). The great-

ness of which favour so wraps us round, that it even precludes all ways of returning it. For what other hope was left to us than that, in return for your infinite kindnesses to us, we should most surely hand down your Majesty to immortality in our writings? But now thou thyself, by writing, hast broken in upon our methods of requital, and hast carried them away. Art thou such a robber of all glory, that thou wilt not even leave us the praise of gratitude? What do we mean to do, then? In this way at least there is a solution (of our difficulty). We now, being besprinkled with royal ink, will think of nothing but what is lofty and elevated; we will break through all controversies; we will vanquish all persons whatsoever. Now we would desire some Jesuit to be given to us, that by the sharp application of your book we might crush him then and there. Wherefore we embrace, cherish, kiss this your offspring, this second Charles, this bundle of wisdom, placed outside the hazard of mortality, and, that thou mayst the more easily recognise thine own, created at its very birth the king of books. Buildings are overthrown, statues are broken to pieces; this image and impression (of thee), superior to time, securely outstrips the injuries of the age and writings on all sides perishing. For if in your Irish kingdom there is produced an enduring wood, effectual against all poisons, how much more are those good properties to be transferred to the

lord of the land!—that thus your writings may by their own innate force be freed from every tooth, as well of devouring time as of poisonous heretics. For the rest, we pray the holy Trinity that to your crown, civil and literary, He may at a far-off hour add a third, celestial (crown).

Your most humble and obedient servants,

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR,

AND THE REST OF THE SENATE OF CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.

Given in full Senate, May 20, 1620.

When foreign scholars visit our (library, we say), 'Why, O stranger, dost thou remind us of the Vatican and Bodleian? A single book is library to us.'

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11. GRATLÆ DE FLUVIO CONTRA REDEMPTORES.

Jun. 14, 1620.

SERENISSIME DOMINE NOSTER, JACOBE POTENTISSIME,

Infinita vestra in nos beneficia non solum verba omnia, sed etiam cogitationes nostras exhauriunt. Quis enim impetus animi celeritatem tantæ munificentiæ assequi potest? quippe qui vniuersum tempus nostrum (forsitan quo alacrius illud impenderemus doctrinæ) beneficiis etiam obligasti. Nuper enim dedisti nobis librum, plenissimum Musarum, quæ cum olim gauderent fluuiis, nunc etiam aquas, in quibus habitant,

impertis? Quanta rotunditas clementiæ vestræ, quæ ab omni parte nobis succurrit! Quod si Artaxerxes olim paululum aquæ a Sinæta subiecto suo lætissime sumeret; quanto magis par est, nos humillimos subiectos, integro fluuio a rege nostro donatos, triumphare? Tantum Majestatem vestram subiectissime oramus, ut si officia nostra minus respondeant magnitudini beneficiorum, imbecillitati id nostræ, quæ fastigium regiarum notionum æquare nunquam potest non voluntati tribuendum existimes.

Thanks for the River against the Contractors.

June 14, 1620.

Our most serene Lord, most mighty James,

Your infinite kindnesses to us not only exhaust all words, but even our thoughts. For what effort of mind is able to overtake the rapidity of such munificence? inasmuch as by kindnesses you have put under obligation the whole of our time, in order perhaps that we might apply it more eagerly to learning. For lately thou hast presented to us a book, filled quite full of the Muses; and inasmuch as they formerly delighted in rivers, now thou dost bestow upon us the waters also in which they dwell. How perfect is the circle of your benignity, which brings us help from every quarter! But if Artaxerxes once took most gladly a small quantity of water from Sinætas, his subject,

how much more fitting is it that we, (thy) most humble subjects, presented with a full river by our king, should triumph (with joy)! Only we most humbly beseech your Majesty, that, if our acknowledgments scarcely answer to the greatness of (thy) kindnesses, thou wouldst consider it to be due to our weakness—which is never able to vie with the height of royal thoughts—not to our inclination.

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12. Ad F. Bacon, Cancell.

Gratiæ de Fluvio.

Illustrissime Domine,

Siccam animam sapientissimam esse dixit obscurus ille philosophus; sane exorti sunt nuperi quidam homines, qui libenter sapientiores nos redderent: sed si ablatus fuisset fluuius noster, per quem vicini agri opulentia fruimur, veremur ne non tam sapientes nos, quam obscuros philosophos reddidissent. Quis enim tunc inviseret Almam Matrem destitutam omni commeatu? opportune his tenebris fauor tuus occurrit, illustrans nos omnes, lumenque accendens de suo lumine.

Vt nihilo minus tibi luceat, cum nobis accenderit. Neque enim passus es illum fluuium, qui tantæ poeticæ, tantæ eruditionis nobis conscius est, palustri opere et vliginoso intercipi: cum non est tanti totus ille maritimus tractus (Oceani præda et deliciæ) vt

irrigui Musarum horti, floribus suis sternentes rempublicam, præ ariditate flaccescerent. Sed siccitas anni huius derisit incœptum, et plus effecit quam mille redemptores exequi possent. Quanquam non mirari non possumus, vnde fit vt nullus fere elabatur dies, qui non hostes aliquos nobis aperiat: quidam stomachantur prædia, alii immunitates carpunt, nonnulli fluuium invident, multi Academias integras subuersas volunt, neque illi e fæce vulgi tantum, qui eruditionem simplicitati Christianæ putant aduersam, sed homines nobiliores ignorantiæ, qui literas imminuere spiritus, generososque animos frangere et retundere clamitant. Tu vero patrone noster, qui elegantias doctrinæ nitoremque spirans purpuram et eruditionem miscuisti, dilue, fuga hos omnes, præsertim sericatam hanc stultitiam contere, Academiæque iura, dignitatem, fluuium placidissimo fauorum tuorum affiatu nobis tuere: quod quidem non minus expectamus a te, quem singularis doctrina exemit a populo, et quasi mixtam personam reddidit quam si episcopi more pristino cancellis præficerentur.

To F. Bacon, Chancellor.

Thanks for the River.

Most illustrious Lord,

A dry soul is wisest, said that obscure philosopher. Truly there have lately risen a set of men who would willingly render us more wise; but if our river had

been taken away, by means of which we enjoy the wealth of the neighbouring country, we are afraid they would have rendered us not wise so much as obscure philosophers; for who would visit Alma Mater when robbed of all its supplies? Seasonably thy favour meets this darkness, illumining us all, and lighting our lamp from its own lamp. May it none the less shine to thee, when it has given light to us! for thou hast not suffered that river, which is cognisant with us of so much poetry, of so much learning, to be intercepted by a boggy and marshy work, since the whole of that seaside region (ocean's spoil and delight) is not of so much value that the watered gardens of the Muses, which strew with their flowers the whole commonwealth, should wither up for want of moisture. But the dryness of this year has laughed to scorn the undertaking, and has accomplished more than a thousand contractors could effect. Although we cannot but wonder whence it comes to pass that scarcely a single day slips by which does not disclose to us some enemies: certain of them are vexed at our estates; others carp at our privileges; others, again, envy us our river; many wish entire Universities overthrown—and these too not only of the dregs of the multitude, who think learning opposed to Christian simplicity, but noblemen of ignorance, who loudly reiterate that literature lessens men's energies, and breaks and deadens generous minds. But thou, O our patron, who, breath-

ing the elegancies and brightness of learning, hast blended the purple and erudition, dissolve, disperse all these; especially crumple-up this folly 'in silk attire,' and by the most serene breath of thy favours maintain for us our University's rights, dignity, and river. And this indeed, and no less, we expect from thee, whom extraordinary learning has removed from the people, and has produced thee a sort of mixed personage, as if bishops, in the olden manner, were set over the courts of chancery.

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13. Ad Archiep. Cantuar.

De Bibliopolis Lond.

29 Jan. 1620.

Sanctissime Pater,

Cum cæteræ ecclesiæ tam perspicaci diligentia incubes, concede ut nos etiam benignitate alarum tuarum et virtute fruamur; præsertim hoc tempore, in quo paucorum auaritia liberalibus artibus dominatura est, nisi humanitas tua* superiori æstate sponte suaviterque patefacta, nunc etiam laborantibus Musis succurrat. Ferunt enim Londinenses Bibliopolas suum potius emolumentum quam publicum spectantes (quæ res et naturæ legibus et hominum summe contraria est) monopoliis quibusdam inhiare, ex quo timemus librorum precia auctum iri, et priuilegia nostra imminutum. Nos igitur

* Ferina missa.

hoc metu affecti, vti sanguis solet in re dubia ad cor festinare, ita ad te confugimus primariam partem ecclesiastici corporis, orantes vt quicquid consilii avaritia ceperit aduersus aut immunitates nostras aut commune literarum et literatorum commodum, id omne dexterrima tua in obeundis rebus prudentia dissipetur. Deus Opti. Max. tua beneficia, quæ nos soluendo non sumus, in suas tabulas accepti transferat.

To the Archbishop of Canterbury.

[George Abbot, who held the see from early in 1611. He died Aug. 4, 1633, æt. 71, and was buried at Guildford in Surrey. G.]

Concerning the London Booksellers.

Jan. 29, 1620.

Most holy Father,

Since thou broodest over the rest of the Church with such keen-sighted carefulness, grant that we also may enjoy the favour and benefit of thy wings; especially at this time, when the covetousness of a few persons is likely to lord it over the liberal arts, unless thy kindness, spontaneously displayed last summer, should now also come to the help of the distressed Muses. For they say that the London booksellers, having an eye to their own advantage rather than to that of the public (which is a thing utterly opposed to the laws both of nature and of men), are longing for certain monopolies; from which circumstance we fear that the prices of books will be increased, and our privileges

diminished. We therefore, moved with this fear, as the blood is wont in a moment of danger to hasten to the heart, so we fly to thee as the chief part of the body ecclesiastic, praying that whatever counsel covetousness may have taken against either our immunities or the common advantage of letters and scholars, all this may be scattered by thy wisdom, which is most skilful in the management of affairs. May God, the Best and Greatest, transfer to His accounts of receipts thy services to us, which we are unable to repay!

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14. Ad Fr. Bacon, Cancell.

De Bibliop. Lond.

29 Jan. 1620.

Illustrissime Domine,

Tu quidem semper patronus noster es, etiam tacentibus nobis, quanto magis cum rogamus, idque pro libris de quibus nusquam rectius quam apud te agitur. Accepimus enim Londinenses librarios omnia transmarina scripta ad monopolium reuocare moliri, neque ratione habita chartæ nostræ a serenissimo Principe Henrico 8^{o} indultæ, neque studiosorum sacculi, qui etiam nunc mæret et ingemiscit. Ecquid permittis, Domine? Curasti tu quidem Instauratione tua, quo minus exteris libris indigeremus, sed tamen comparatio et in honorem tuum cedet, nostrumque emolumentum. Quare vnice

obsecramus, vt qui tot subsidia attuleris ad progressum doctrinæ, hac etiam in parte nobis opituleris. Aspicis multitudinem librorum indies gliscentem, præsertim in theologia, cujus libri si alii aliis (tanquam montes olim) imponerentur, veri simile est, eos illuc quo cognitio ipsa pertingit ascensuros. Quod si et numerus scriptorum intumescat, et pretium, quæ abyssus crumenæ tantos sumptus æquabit? Jam vero miserum est, pecuniam retardare illam, cui natura spiritum dederit, feracem gloriæ, et cœleste ingenium quasi ad metalla damnari. Qui augent pretia librorum, prosunt vendentibus libros non ementibus, hoc est cessatoribus non studiosis. Hæc tu omnium optime vides; quare causam nostram nosque ipsos tibi, teque Deo Opti. Maxi. intimis precibus commendamus.

To Francis Bacon, Chancellor.

Concerning the London Booksellers.

Jan. 29, 1620.

Most illustrious Lord,

Thou indeed art always our patron, even when we are silent; how much more when we make a request, and that on behalf of books, concerning which nowhere is a suit more properly pleaded than before thee. For we have heard that the London bookdealers are endeavouring to bring back to a monopoly all writings from beyond the seas, no regard being had to our charter

conceded by the most serene Prince Henry VIII., nor to the purse of students, which even now mourns and sighs. Dost thou permit this, my Lord? Thou hast indeed provided by thy 'Instauratio' that we should be less dependent upon foreign books; but nevertheless the comparing of them will tend both to thy honour and our profit. Wherefore we exceedingly entreat thee, that as thou hast brought so many helps to the advancement of learning, in this particular also thou wouldst afford us assistance. Thou seest the multitude of books swelling day by day, especially in theology, on which subject if the books were piled one upon another (like the mountains in old time), it is likely that they would climb up to that place to which knowledge itself appertains. But if both the number of writings and the price of them grow greater, what bottomless pit of a purse will be equal to such expenses? Now indeed it is a wretched thing that money should hinder him to whom nature has given a spirit fruitful of glory, and that heavenly genius should be condemned as it were to the mines. They who increase the prices of books benefit those who sell books, not those who buy them; that is to say the idlers, not the studious. Thou seest these things best of all; wherefore we commend our cause and ourselves to thee, and thee to God the Best and Greatest, with 'heart-deep' prayers.

15. Gratulatio ad F. Leigh.

Capitalem Justitiarium Angl. (*Camden*),

6 Feb. 1620.

Honoratissime Domine,

Fama promotionis tuæ gratissime appulit ad nos omnes, haud ita certe studiis chartisque obuolutos, quin aures nostræ tibi pateant. Imo prorsus censemus permultum interesse alacritatis publicæ, vt bonorum præmia citissime promulgentur, quo suavius virtutibus, tuo exemplo compensatis, [ad] vnum omnes incumbamus. Quare tam vere quam libenter gratulamur tibi, nec minus etiam reipublicæ, quam hinc pleno gradu ingrediens beneficiis tuis percurres. Nos etiam haud minimam fauoris tui partem speramus, orantes vt immunitates nostræ a serenissimis regibus concessae ab augustissimo Jacobo auctæ tua opera conserventur; eadem manus et tuum tibi largita est honorem, et priuilegia nostra confirmauit; in qua dextra et fide coniuncti, in cæteris haud diuellamur. Quod si oppidani nostri (more suo) Musarum iura et diplomata arrodant; tuus amor et authoritas istos sorices nobis abigat. Demosthenes Atheniensis doluit se victum opificum antelucana industria, nostræ etiam Athenæ artesque obscuris opificum artibus superari dolebunt. Sed tua humanitas hæc nobis expediet. Deus fortunet tibi hunc honorem, et faxit, vt tibi gloriæ sit, omnibus saluti.

Congratulation to F. Leigh.

[There was no 'F. Leigh.' James Ley, son of Henry Ley, Esq. of Teffont-Evias, county Wilts, was no doubt intended. He was born about 1552. After filling various important offices, especially in Ireland, he was made Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench Jan. 29, 1620-21, but retired, and became Lord Treasurer Dec. 20, 1624; and was shortly after created Lord Ley, and two years later Earl of Marlborough. He died March 14, 1628-29, and was buried at Westbury, Wilts. The title became extinct on the death of his successor, the fourth earl, in 1679. G.]

Lord Chief Justice of England (*Camden*),

Feb. 6, 1620.

Most honoured Lord,

The report of thy promotion has most agreeably reached us all, certainly not so wrapt up in studies and books but that our ears are open for thee. Nay indeed, we think it to be of very great importance to the active discharge of public duty, that the rewards gained by the good should be most speedily proclaimed, in order that we may all to a man apply ourselves more pleasantly to those virtues recompensed in thy instance. Wherefore as truly as gladly we congratulate thee, and not less all the State, which, proceeding from henceforth in full march, thou wilt travel over with thy benefits. We also hope for not the least part of thy favour, praying that our immunities, granted by most serene kings, enlarged by the most august James, may by thy pains be preserved. The same hand has both bestowed on thee thy honour and has confirmed our privileges;

and being joined together in that right hand and confidence, in other things let us not be put asunder. But if our dwellers in towns (after their manner) damage the rights and documents of the Muses, let thy love and authority drive away those ill birds from us. Demosthenes the Athenian grieved that he was vanquished by the industry of artisans before daylight. Our Athens also and our arts will grieve to be overcome by the obscure practices of handicraftsmen. But thy liberal education will rid these things from us. May God prosper this honour to thee, and cause it to be for thy glory and for the benefit of all!

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16. Gratulatio ad Cranfield, Thesaurar.

8 Oct. 1621.

Illustrissime Domine.

Concede vt honoribus nuperis, tanquam partubus virtutum tuarum, Alma Mater accurrens gratuletur: solent enim studiosorum suffragia enixus gloriæ sollicitudine in futurum plenos haud parum levare; præsertim quum ipsi non solum rectum de bene-merentibus judicium hausisse ab antiquis, sed et ad posteros transmissuri videantur. Quare post principis manum honoribus refertam, non est quod nostram quoque, cum amoris symbolo festinantem, recuses. Sic apud veterum aras, post ingentes hecatombas, exiguam thuris

micam adoleri legimus. Tu, Domine, vicisti : tuere nos ita ut fortunæ nostræ, intra ambitum amplexusque felicitatis tuæ receptæ, communi calore foveantur. Et cum ob perspicacitatem singularem jam olim Regi notam atque signatam dignissime præficiaris Fisco, etiam Academiam in Thesauris habe: justissime potes sub hoc Principe, in quo doctrinæ fructus atque usus mirifice relucet: certe, si quantum eruditio Regis profuerit reipublicæ, tantum favoris nobis impertias, abunde succurres

Magnificentiæ tuæ addictissimis,

PROCANCELLARIO, REL.

CONGRATULATION TO CRANFIELD, TREASURER.

[Lionel Cranfield, a merchant of London, became a favourite of King James I., and, after holding several important offices, was created Baron Cranfield July 9, 1621; and in October following constituted Lord Treasurer. On Sept. 16, 1622, he was created Earl of Middlesex; but two years later was impeached by Parliament. He died in disgrace in 1645, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. G.]

Oct. 8, 1621.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LORD,

Permit that Alma Mater may run and congratulate thy recent honours, as the progeny of thy virtues: for the voices of the studious are wont not a little to lighten the birth-struggles of glory, full of anxiety for the future; especially when they themselves appear not only to have drawn from the ancients a right judgment

concerning those who deserve well, but also are about to hand it down to posterity. Wherefore, after the prince's hand filled with honours, there is no reason that thou shouldst refuse ours also, hastening with a token of love. So, on the altars of the old (Greeks), after huge hecatombs, we read that a tiny morsel of frankincense is consumed by the fire. Thou, my Lord, hast triumphed. Defend thou us in such a manner that our fortunes, taken within the circuit and embraces of thy felicity, may be cherished by the common heat. And since for thy remarkable clear-sightedness, now for a long time known and distinguished by the King, thou art most worthily set over the Treasury, do thou reckon the University also amongst thy treasures: most properly canst thou do this under such a Prince, in whom the fruit and use of learning shines marvellously. Certainly, if as much as the King's condition has benefited the State, thou bestow so much favour upon us, thou wilt abundantly help

Thy Magnificence's most devoted

VICE-CHANCELLOR AND THE REST.

17. Ad Lanc. Andrewes, Episc.

(From the British Museum, Ms. Sloan. no. 118.)

[The final *m* left out in the original, and many contractions, not followed here. G.]

Sanctissime Pater,

Statim a solatio aspectus tui, ego auctior jam gaudio atque distentior Cantabrigiam redii. Quid enim manerem? Habui viaticum favoris tui, quod longiori multo itineri sufficeret. Nunc obrutus Academicis negotiis, ægre hoc tempus illis succido: non quin pectus meum plenum tui sit, atque effusissimum in omnia officia, quæ præstet, mea parvitas; sed ut facilius ignoscas occupato calamo, qui etiam ferians nihil tua perfectione dignum procudere possit. Utcunque tua lenitas non ita interpretabitur mea hæc scribendi intervalla, ac si juvenili potius impetu correptus, quam adductus maturo consilio, primas dedissem literas, ideoque præfervida illa desideria silentio suo sepulta nunc languescere, ut halitus tenuiores solent, qui primo caloris suasu excitati atque expergefacti, ubi sursum processerint paulo, frigefacti demum relabuntur. Hoc quidem illis accidere amat, qui celeritatem affectuum raptim sequentes, ad omnem eorum auram vacillant. Ego, non nisi meditate, obrepsi ad favorem tuum; perfectionibus tuis, meis desideriis probē cognitis, excussis perpensisque. Cum enim vim cogitationum in vitam meam omnem convertissem, et ex altera parte acuissem me aspectu vir-

tutum tuarum : huc, illuc commeando, eo deveni animo, ut nunquam cessandum mihi ducerem, numquam fatiscendum, donec lacteam aliquam viam ad candorem mentis tuæ ducentem aut reperissem aut fecissem. Neque quod ignotior eram, retundebatur unquam impetus : quippe qui sic colligebam ; si tam abjectus sim, ut laboribus meis plurimis atque assidua observantia, ramenta quæpiam ex tanta humanitatis massa, quæ apud te visitur, abscindere non possim, absque molesta aliorum ac frigida commendatione, si huc reciderit omnis studiorum spes fructusque :

> ' Cur ego laborem notus esse tam prave,
> Cum stare gratis cum silentio possim ?'

Quod tamen hæc omnia succedant ex voto, quod reclusæ sint fores, receptusque sim in aliquem apud h[onoris] t[ui] locum, magis id adeo factum esse mansuetudine tua incomparabili, quam meis meritis ullis, semper lubentissimeque agnoscam : imo precabor enixe, me tum privari tam communi hac luce, quam tua, cum id agnoscere unquam desinam. Quanquam, cum gravibus duobus muneribus fungar apud meos, Rhetoris in hunc annum, et in plures Oratoris, permitte, Pater, hoc impetrem, ut cedam aliquantisper expectationi hominum, rariusque paulo fodiam in Vintoniensi agro, dum Rhetorici satagam : quamvis enim sexcenta hujusmodi prædiola tua gratia permutare nolim ; majus tamen piaculum reor, deesse publico muneri quam privato, latiusque manare injustitiæ peccatum, quam ne-

gligentiæ. Illic constringor debito; hic etiam teneor, sed laxioribus vinculis, quæque amor sæpe remittit: illud necessarium magis factu, hoc vero longe jucundius nobiliusque: ut quod philosophus de tactu et visu, id apposite admodum huc transferatur. Appetit tempus, cum excusso altero jugo, dimidiaque operis parte levatus, ad mea in h[onoris] t[ui] officia erectior solutiorque redibo, ex ipsa intermissione animos ducens. Interim, sic existimes, nihil mortalium firmiori flagrare in te desiderio, quam meum pectus; neque ulla negotia (quippe quæ caput petant, non cor) tui in me dominii jus imminuere posse, nedum rescindere. Una cum promotionibus academicis maternisque, assumpsi mecum propensionem in patrem. 'Crescent illæ, crescetis amores.' Cui sententiæ si fidem adhibeas, assensumque tuum veritati omni familiarem largiaris (σὺν τῇ εὐλογίᾳ σοῦ προσεπιμετρουμένῃ) beabis.

Filium tuum obsequentissimum,

GEORGIUM HERBERT.

Ignosce, heros illustrissime, quod pronomina mea adeo audacter incedant in hac epistola: potui refercire lineas honoribus, magnif., celsitud., sed non patitur, ut mihi videtur, Romana elegantia, periodique vetus rotunditas. Quare malui servire auribus tuis, creberrima antiquitatis lectione tersis atque expolitis, quam luxuriæ seculi ambitionisque strumæ, non adeo sanatæ ab

optimo Rege nostro, quin turgescat indies, atque efferat se, indulgere.

To the Right Honourable and Reverend Father in God my L. Bishop of Winchester, one of the King's most honorable Privy-Counsaile.

To Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop.

[Born 1555, died Sept. 25, 1626. G.]

Most holy Father,

At once from the comfort of thy countenance, I, grown greater and fuller for joy, returned to Cambridge. For why should I remain? I had the 'viaticum' of thy favour, which would suffice for a much longer journey. Now buried in academic affairs, unwillingly I cut down my time to these things: not but that my breast is full of thee, and most devoted to all the duties which my smallness affords; but (I say this) that thou mayst more easily pardon my busy pen, which even at full leisure can produce nothing worthy of thy perfection. However, thy mildness will not so interpret these my intermissions of writing, as if, rather hurried away by youthful impulse than led on by ripe counsel, I had written my first letter, and that on this account those overhot longings, buried in their own silence, now languish, as those thinner exhalations are accustomed to do, which being raised and stirred up by the first persuasion of the sun's heat, when they have gone upwards a little, being cooled, at length glide back again.

This indeed is wont to happen to those who, following hastily the quickness of the feelings, waver at their every breath. I, with entire premeditation, have crept into thy favour; thy perfections and my longings being fully known, examined, and weighed. For when I had turned the force of my thoughts upon my whole life, and on the other hand had sharpened myself by the view of thy virtues; going to and fro, hither and thither, I arrived at this point in my mind—that I ought to deem it my duty never to rest, to cease, or grow weary, until I had either found out or fashioned some milky way leading to the whiteness of thy mind. Nor, because I was less known, was my zeal ever repressed; inasmuch as I thus argued: if I am so mean that, by my abundant labours and constant observation, I am not able to tear away some filings from this huge mass of polished learning which is seen in thee, without the troublesome and cold commendation of other people; supposing all the hope and fruit of my studies should have been turned to this object (what would be the happy result?)

> 'Why should my life with toil for fame be fraught,
> When I may rest in silence here for naught?'

That, however, all these things prosper according to my prayer, that the doors are thrown open, that I am welcomed to some place with your honour, I shall always and most willingly acknowledge that this has so happened more through thy wonderful amiability than any

merits of mine; nay, I shall earnestly pray to be deprived as well of this common light of day as of thy light, whenever I shall cease to acknowledge it. Although, since I am discharging two important functions amongst my (fellow-collegians)—that of Professor of Rhetoric for this year, and of Orator for more years than one—permit me, Father, to obtain this request of thee, that I should yield for a little while to the expectation of men, and rather less frequently dig in the Winchester field, while I have my hands full of rhetorical business; for although I would not take six hundred little properties of this kind in exchange for thy favour, nevertheless I deem it to be a greater crime to be wanting to a public than a private function, and I deem the sin of injustice to spread more widely than the sin of negligence. There I am bound by duty; here also I am held, but with looser chains, and which love often relaxes: the former is more necessary to be done, the latter indeed is far more joyous and noble; so that what the philosopher said about the touch and sight may be applied to this subject with perfect appropriateness. The time approaches when, one yoke being shaken off, and being relieved of one half of my work, I shall return to my duties to your honour, more alert and at liberty, deriving fresh spirits even from this very break (in our intercourse). In the mean while thus think, that nothing mortal burns with a more steady longing for thee than my bosom; and that no concerns

(certainly not those which claim the head rather than the heart) are able to lessen the power of thy dominion over me, much less to sever it. Together with my academic and maternal preferments, I have taken up along with me my preference for my father. 'The former will grow; ye will grow also, my loves.' To which sentiment, if thou accord thy confidence, and freely give thy friendly consent to the entire truth of it (together with thy blessing measured out over and above), thou wilt make happy

Thy most obedient son,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Forgive, most illustrious lord, that my pronouns move along so boldly in this epistle: I could have stuffed the lines full of 'honours, magnificences, highnesses;' but, as it seems to me, Roman elegance does not suffer it, and the antique roundness of a period. Wherefore I preferred to do service to thine ears, nice and refined with the very frequent reading of the Classics, than to indulge the extravagance of the age and the excrescence of ambition, not so far cured by our most excellent King but that it swells and exalts itself every day.

18.

ERUDITE CRN. [=CREIGHTON],

Comiter scribis atque eleganter; quæ est vestra felicitas qui puro Academiæ farre utimini. Ego hic pultibus vescor et glande, more majorum, multos jam annos Anglice vivens garriensque. Verum, quod rem spectat, si placeat vices meas tantisper supplere donec Academia orationem tuam imbibat probetque, per me non stabit quo minus spe provecta atque adulta, ipsam possessionem adeas, *ἀγαθῇ γε τύχῃ*. Proin jube Thorndick nostrum, ni grave est, librum tibi oratorium lampademque tradat. Verum heus, caute incipe, cohibens adeo stylum ingeniumque. Non quod nunc indulgeas alterutri, sed quod deinceps indultum nollem. Perpende, non tam quod tibi conveniat scribenti, quam quod Academiæ tuo calamo scribenti. Multa Critti meo quadrabunt, quæ Almæ Matri inconcinna erunt atque enormia. Quare scripturus, finge tibi matronam sanctam, venerandam, oris prisci atque augusti, hujus tu es commotria (*κομμώτρια*) atque ornatrix. Jam si inter commendandum adhibeas ei calamistros uti juvenculæ, *ὀφθαλμῶν ὑπογραφαὶ καὶ ἐπιτρίμματα παρειῶν* inducens; certe non tam ornas illam, qui infers manum gravitati. Quin nec demisso, quando ad magnates cogitas, stylo utare, sed modeste grandi, etsi tu qui scribis (uti quivis privatus) inferioris sis subsellii, Academia universim sumpta una est e proceribus, inter patritios

sedens et prætextatos. Quare et procancellarius Academiam simulans vel maximos magnatum inter eundem summovet. Tu hanc personam indue scripturus, tuumque judicium tibi lictor esto. Dein, oratio clara sit, perspicua, pellucens. Obscurus sermo negotiis ineptus; quæ cum plerumque implicata sint, nisi candida phrasi telam explices, perit negotium, quasi ex nubibus Ixoneis congressum. Tandem, ne et ipse peccem, brevis sit sermo, atque pressus. Aliud oratio, aliud epistola: parce doctrinæ in epistolis; perorans paululum indulge; ne tum quidem multum, neque nostræ matronæ convenit, cui tu es ab ornatu. Ut semel dicam, oratio perfecta, uti vir, τετράγωνος est, gravis, nobilis, perspicua, succincta. Hæc tu optime nosti; neque eo dico: sed lubet garrire paulo. Jupiter! O quot jam anni sunt ex quo vel apicem Latinum pertuli! Et amor alioqui loquax est; uti etiam senectus, quam ætatem in hac palæstra consecutus mihi videor. Proinde audi Platonem: *Δοκεῖ μοι χρηστὸν παρὰ τῶν πρεσβύτων πυνθανεσθαι, ὥσπερ τίνα ὁδὸν προεληλυθότων, ἢ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἴσως δεήσει πορεύεσθαι ποία τις ἐστί.* Tu vero vale, mi Proorator, amaque

Tuum G. H. (*i.e.* G. HERBERT),

(Qui electus et cooptatus fuerat ad hoc munus obeundum anno 1619.)

ii. Nonas V̄. e Chelsiano, circa ann. 1627.

Letter of George Herbert to Creighton, his 'Pro-orator.'

From the Williams Ms.

[See our Memorial-Introduction and Essay, and note 48, pp. 109-10. Creighton succeeded Herbert as Public Orator. G.]

Learned [Sir],

Kindly dost thou write and elegantly, such is your happiness who use the fine wheat of the University. Here I am feeding on pulse and acorns, after the manner of our ancestors, now many years living and chattering like an Englishman. But as regards the business in hand, if it please thee to fill my place so long, until the University drink in and approve thy mode of speaking, it will not be my fault (when thy hope is advanced and mature) thou dost not enter upon the office itself, and I pray with all good fortune. Therefore bid our friend Thorndike, if it is not troublesome to him, to hand over to thee the orator's book and lamp. But, ah, cautiously begin, restraining moreover thy style and natural genius; not that thou dost now unduly indulge either one or the other, but as regards the future I would not wish either to be indulged. Consider well, not so much what may be becoming to thyself writing, as what may be becoming to the University writing by thy pen. Many things will be fitting for my (friend) Creighton, which for Alma Mater will be incongruous and out of character. Wherefore when thou art about to write, picture to thyself a matron holy, reverend, of

antique and august countenance; of her thou art the tirewoman and adorner. Now if, in setting her off, thou shouldst apply to her crisping-pins, as to a young woman, introducing stainings of the eyes and paintings of the cheeks, certainly thou dost not adorn her so much as raise thy hand against her (proper) gravity. And yet do not thou use a humble style when thou turnest thy thoughts to nobles, but one modestly dignified; although thou who writest (as any private individual) mayst belong to a 'lower room,' the University taken altogether is one of the princes sitting among the patricians (by birth) and the distinguished (by position). Wherefore also the Vice-chancellor, as representing the University, causes the greatest nobles to make way before him as he moves along. Do thou put on this character when about to write, and let thy good judgment be as a lictor before thee; then let thy style of speaking be clear, transparent, lucid. An obscure mode of address is unfit for business affairs, which being generally involved, unless thou dost disentangle the web with a clear diction, the business perishes, as if it had come into contact with perpetually-revolving clouds. In fine, lest I myself too should transgress, let thy mode of speech be terse and compact. An oration is one thing; a letter is another. Be sparing of learning in letters; in making an oration indulge in it a little—not much even then; for it is not befitting (the character of) our matron, whom it is thy place to set off to ad-

vantage. To speak once for all, a perfect speech, as a (perfect) man, is four-square—serious, elevated, transparent, concise. These things thou knowest quite well, and I do not on that account speak; but I like to chatter a little. By Jove, O how many years it is since I attained to the very summit of (a) Latin (scholar's ambition)! And love is generally talkative, as even is old age, which time of life I seem to myself to have reached in this exercise (of rhetoric). Accordingly listen to Plato: 'It seems to me right that we should inquire from old men, as from those who have travelled before along some road which it will be needful for us likewise to travel over, what kind of a road it is.' But thou farewell, my Pro-orator, and love thou thy

G. H.

Chelsea, May 6 (about 1627).

Part II. English.

1. To Mr. Henry Herbert.[1]

Brother,

The disease which I am troubled with now is the shortness of time; for it hath been my fortune of late to have such sudden warning, that I have not leisure to impart unto you some of those observations which I have framed to myself in conversation, and whereof I would not have you ignorant. As I shall find occasion, you shall receive them by pieces; and if there be any such which you have found useful to yourself, communicate them to me. You live in a brave nation, where, except you wink,[2] you cannot but see many brave examples. Be covetous, then, of all good which you see in Frenchmen, whether it be in knowledge or in fashion or in words;[3] for I would have you, even in speeches, to observe so much as, when you meet with a witty French speech, try to speak the like in English; so shall you play a good merchant, by transporting French commodities to your own country. Let there be no kind of excellency which it is possible for you to attain to which you seek not. And have a good conceit of your wit—mark what I say—have a good conceit of your wit; that is, be proud, not with a foolish vaunting of yourself when there is no cause, but by setting a just price of your qualities. And it

is the part of a poor spirit to undervalue himself and blush. But I am out of my time: when I have more time, you shall hear more; and write you freely to me in your letters, for I am your ever-loving brother,

G. HERRERT.

P.S. My brother is somewhat of the same temper, and perhaps a little more mild, but you will hardly perceive it.

To my dear Brother, Mr. Henry Herbert, at Paris.

2. To SIR HENRY HERBERT.

DEAR BROTHER,

It is so long since I heard from you, that I long to hear both how you and yours do, and also what becomes of you this summer. It is the whole amount of this letter, and therefore entertain it accordingly, from your very affectionate brother,

G. HERBERT.

7 June, Bemerton.

My wife's and nieces' service to you.

3. IBID.

DEAR BRO[THER],

I was glad of your Cambridge news; but you joyed me exceedingly with your relation of my lady Duchess's forwardness in our church-building. I am glad I used you in it; and you have no cause to be

sorry, since it is God's business. If there fall out yet any rub, you shall hear of me; and your offering of yourself to move my Lords of Manchester and Bolingbroke is very welcome to me. To show a forwardness in religious works is a good testimony of a good spirit. The Lord bless you, and make you abound in every good work, to the joy of your ever-loving brother,

G. HERBERT.

March 21, Bemerton.

To my dear Brother, Sir Henry Herbert, at Court.

4. IBID.

DEAR BROTHER,

That you did not only entertain my proposals, but advance them, was lovingly done, and like a good brother. Yet truly it was none of my meaning, when I wrote, to put one of our nieces into your hands, but barely what I wrote I meant, and no more; and am glad that although you offer more, yet you will do, as you write, that also. I was desirous to put a good mind into the way of charity, and that was all I intended. For concerning your offer of receiving one, I will tell you what I wrote to our eldest brother when he urged one upon me, and but one, and that at my choice. I wrote to him, that I would have both or neither; and that upon this ground—because they were to come into an unknown country, tender in knowledge, sense, and age, and knew none but one

who could be no company to them; therefore I considered that if one only came, the comfort intended would prove a discomfort. Since that I have seen the fruit of my observation; for they have lived so lovingly, lying, eating, walking, praying, working still together, that I take a comfort therein; and would not have to part them yet, till I take some opportunity to let them know your love, for which both they shall and I do thank you. It is true there is a third sister,[4] whom to receive were the greatest charity of all, for she is youngest and least looked unto; having none to do it but her schoolmistress, and you know what those mercenary creatures are. Neither hath she any to repair unto at good times, as Christmas, &c., which you know is the encouragement of learning all the year after, except my cousin Bett take pity of her, which yet at that distance is some difficulty. If you could think of taking her, as once you did, surely it were a great good deed, and I would have her conveyed to you. But I judge you not. Do that which God shall put into your heart, and the Lord bless all your purposes to His glory. Yet truly, if you take her not, I am thinking to do it, even beyond my strength; especially at this time, being more beggarly now than I have been these many years, as having spent two hundred pounds in building; which to me that have nothing yet is very much. But though I both consider this, and your observation also, of the unthank-

fulness of kindred bred up (which generally is very true), yet I care not; I forget all things, so I may do them good who want it. So I do my part to them, let them think of me what they will or can. I have another Judge, to Whom I stand or fall. If I should regard such things, it were in another's power to defeat my charity, and evil should be stronger than good. But difficulties are so far from cooling Christians, that they whet them. Truly it grieves me to think of the child, how destitute she is, and that in this necessary time of education. For the time of breeding is the time of doing children good; and not as many who think they have done fairly if they leave them a good portion after their decease. But take this rule, and it is an outlandish[5] one, which I commend to you as being now a father, 'The best-bred child hath the best portion.' Well, the good God bless you more and more, and all yours, and make your family a houseful of God's servants; so prays your ever-loving brother,

G. Herbert.

My wife's and nieces' service.

To my very dear brother, Sir Henry Herbert, at Court.

5. For my dear sick Sister.[6]

Most dear Sister,

Think not my silence forgetfulness, or that my love is as dumb as my papers; though businesse may

stop my hand, yet my heart, a much better member, is always with you; and, which is more, with our good and gracious God, incessantly begging some ease of your pains, with that earnestness that becomes your griefs and my love. God, Who knows and sees this writing, knows also that my solliciting Him has been much and my tears many for you. Judge me then by those waters, and not by my ink, and then you shall justly value your most truly, most heartily, affectionate brother and servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Trin. Coll., Decem. 6, 1620.

6. To SIR J[OHN] D[ANVERS].[7]*

SIR,

Though I had the best wit in the world, yet it would easily tyre me to find out variety of thanks for the diversity of your favours if I sought to do so; but I possess it not. And therefore let it be sufficient for me that the same heart which you have won long since

* Sir John Danvers, third son of Sir John Danvers, knight, of Dauntsey, Wilts, by Elizabeth, fourth and youngest daughter and co-heir of John Nevil, last Lord Latimer (his elder brother Henry became Earl of Danby). He married, 1st, Magdalen (Newport), relict of Richard Herbert; 2dly, Elizabeth Dauntsey; 3dly, Grace Hawes; and had issue only two daughters by his second wife. He was one of the judges of King Charles I.; but subsequently attempted to incite a revolt against Cromwell. He died in retirement and disgrace before the Restoration, but his name was inserted among those excepted in the general pardon. Whatever he may have been politically, he proved a kind stepfather to Herbert.

is still true to you, and hath nothing else to answer your infinite kindnesses but a constancy of obedience; only hereafter I will take heed how I propose my desires unto you, since I find you so willing to yield to my requests; for since your favours come a-horseback,[8] there is reason that my desires should go afoot; neither do I make any question but that you have performed your kindness to the full, and that the horse is every way fit for me; and I will strive to imitate the compleatness of your love, with being in some proportion, and after my manner, your most obedient servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

7. IBID.

SIR,

I dare no longer be silent, lest while I think I am modest, I wrong both my self and also the confidence my friends have in me; wherefore I will open my case unto you, which I think deserves the reading at the least; and it is this—I want books extremely. You know, sir, how I am now setting foot into divinity, to lay the platform of my future life; and shall I then be fain always to borrow books and build on another's foundation? What tradesman is there who will set up without his tools? Pardon my boldness, sir; it is a most serious case, nor can I write coldly in that wherein consisteth the making good of my former education, of obeying that Spirit which hath guided me hitherto, and

of atchieving my (I dare say) holy ends. This also is aggravated in that I apprehend what my friends would have been forward to say if I had taken ill courses, 'Follow your book, and you shall want nothing.' You know, sir, it is their ordinary speech, and now let them make it good; for since I hope I have not deceived their expectation, let not them deceive mine. But perhaps they will say, 'You are sickly; you must not study too hard.' It is true, God knows, I am weak, yet not so but that every day I may step one step towards my journie's end; and I love my friends so well as that if all things proved not well, I had rather the fault should lie on me than on them. But they will object again, 'What becomes of your annuity?' Sir, if there be any truth in me, I find it little enough to keep me in health. You know I was sick last vacation, neither am I yet recovered, so that I am fain ever and anon to buy somewhat tending towards my health; for infirmities are both painful and costly. Now this Lent I am forbid utterly to eat any fish, so that I am fain to dyet in my chamber at mine own cost; for in our publick halls, you know, is nothing but fish and whit[e] meats; out of Lent also twice a week, on Fridayes and Saturdays, I must do so, which yet sometimes I fast. Sometimes also I ride to Newmarket, and there lie a day or two for fresh air; all which tend to avoiding of costlier matters if I should fall absolutely sick. I protest and vow I even study

thrift, and yet I am scarce able with much ado to make one half year's allowance shake hands with the other. And yet if a book of four or five shillings come in my way, I buy it, though I fast for it; yea sometimes of ten shillings. But, alas, sir, what is that to those infinite volumes of divinity, which yet every day swell and grow bigger? Noble sir, pardon my boldness, and consider but these three things: first, the bulk of divinity; secondly, the time when I desire this (which is now, when I must lay the foundation of my whole life); thirdly, what I desire and to what end—not vain pleasures, nor to a vain end. If then, sir, there be any course, either by engaging my future annuity, or any other way, I desire you, sir, to be my mediator to them in my behalf.

Now I write to you, sir, because to you I have ever opened my heart; and have reason by the patents of your perpetual favour to do so still, for I am sure you love your faithfullest servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Trin. Coll., March 18, 1617.

8. IBID.

SIR,

This week hath loaded me with your favours; I wish I could have come in person to thank you, but it is not possible; presently after Michaelmas I am to make an oration to the whole University of an hour long in Latin, and my Lincoln journey[9] hath set me much be-

hind hand; neither can I so much as go to Bugden and deliver your letter, yet I have sent it thither by a faithful messenger this day. I beseech you all, you and my dear mother and sister, to pardon me, for my Cambridge necessities are stronger to tye me here than yours to London. If I could possibly have come, none should have done my message to Sir Fr. Nethersole for me; he and I are ancient acquaintance, and I have a strong opinion of him, that if he can do me a courtesie he will of himself; yet your appearing in it affects me strangely. I have sent you here inclosed a letter from our Master on my behalf, which if you can send to Sir Francis before his departure, it will do well, for it expresseth the Universitie's inclination to me; yet if you cannot send it with much convenience, it is no matter, for the gentleman needs no incitation to love me.

The orator's place, that you may understand what it is, is the finest place in the University, though not the gainfullest; yet that will be about 30*l.* per an. But the commodiousness is beyond the revenue; for the Orator writes all the University letters, makes all the orations, be it to king, prince, or whatever comes to the University; to requite these pains, he takes place next the doctors, is at all their assemblies and meetings, and sits above the proctors, is regent or non-regent at his pleasure, and such like gaynesses, which will please a young man well.

I long to hear from Sir Francis; I pray, sir, send

the letter you receive from him to me as soon as you can, that I may work the heads to my purpose. I hope I shall get this place without all your London helps, of which I am very proud; not but that I joy in your favours, but that you may see that if all fail, yet I am able to stand on mine own legs. Noble sir, I thank you for your infinite favours; I fear only that I have omitted some fitting circumstance; yet you will pardon my haste, which is very great, though never so but that I have both time and work to be your extreme servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

9. IBID.

SIR,

I have received the things you sent me safe, and now the only thing I long for is to hear of my dear sick sister—first, how her health fares; next, whether my peace be yet made with her concerning my unkind departure. Can I be so happy as to hear of both these that they succeed well? Is it not too much for me? Good sir, make it plain to her that I loved her even in my departure, in looking to her son and my charge. I suppose she is not disposed to spend her eyesight on a piece of paper, or else I had wrote to her; when I shall understand that a letter will be seasonable, my pen is ready. Concerning the orator's place all goes well yet; the next Friday it is tryed, and accordingly you shall hear. I have forty businesses in my hands; your

courtesie will pardon the haste of your humblest servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Trin. Coll., Jan. 19, 1619.

10. IBID.

SIR,

I understand by Sir Francis Nethersol's[10] letter that he fears I have not fully resolved of the matter, since this place being civil may divert me too much from divinity, at which, not without cause, he thinks I aim; but I have wrote him back that this dignity hath no such earthiness in it but it may very well be joined with heaven; or if it had to others, yet to me it should not, for ought I yet knew, and therefore I desire him to send me a direct answer in his next letter. I pray, sir, therefore, cause this inclosed to be carried to his brother's house of his own name, as I think, at the sign of the Pedler and the Pack on London-bridge, for there he assigns me. I cannot yet find leisure to write to my lord or Sir Benjamin Ruddyard;[11] but I hope I shall shortly, though for the reckoning of your favours I shall never find time and paper enough, yet am I your readiest servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Trin. Coll., Octob. 6, 1619.

I remember my most humble duty to my mother, who cannot think me lazy, since I rode 200 miles to see a sister, in a way I knew not, in the midst of much business, and all in a fortnight, not long since.

11. To the truly noble Sir J[ohn] D[anvers].

Sir,

I understand by a letter from my brother Henry that he hath bought a parcel of books for me, and that they are coming over. Now though they have hitherto travelled upon your charge, yet if my sister were acquainted that they are ready, I dare say she would make good her promise of taking five or six pound upon her, which she hath hitherto deferred to do, not of her self, but upon the want of those books, which were not to be got in England; for that which surmounts, though your noble disposition is infinitely free, yet I had rather flie to my old ward, that if any course could be taken of doubling my annuity now, upon condition that I should surcease from all title to it after I enter'd into a benefice, I should be most glad to entertain it, and both pay for the surplusage of these books and for ever after cease my clamorous and greedy bookish requests. It is high time now that I should be no more a burden to you, since I can never answer what I have already received; for your favours are so ancient that they prevent my memory, and yet still grow upon your humblest servant,

George Herbert.

I remember my most humble duty to my mother. I have wrote to my dear sick sister this week already; and therefore now I hope may be excused.

I pray, sir, pardon my boldness of inclosing my brother's letter in yours, for it was because I know your lodging, but not his.

12. A Letter of Mr. George Herbert to his Mother in her Sickness.

Madam,

At my last parting from you I was the better content, because I was in hope I should my self carry all sickness out of your family; but since I know I did not, and that your share continues, or rather increaseth, I wish earnestly that I were again with you; and would quickly make good my wish but that my employment does fix me here, being now but a month to our Commencement; wherein my absence, by how much it naturally augmenteth suspicion, by so much shall it make my prayers the more constant and the more earnest for you to the God of all consolation. In the mean time I beseech you to be chearful, and comfort your self in the God of all comfort, Who is not willing to behold any sorrow but for sin. What hath affliction grievous in it more then for a moment? or why should our afflictions here have so much power or boldness as to oppose the hope of our joys hereafter? Madam, as the earth is but a point in respect of the heavens, so are earthly troubles compar'd to heavenly joyes; therefore, if either age or sickness lead you to those joyes, consider what advantage you have over

youth and health, who are now so near those true comforts. Your last letter gave me an earthly preferment, and, I hope, kept heavenly for your self. But wou'd you divide and choose too? Our colledg customs allow not that; and I shou'd account my self most happy if I might change with you; for I have alwaies observ'd the thred of life to be like other threds or skenes of silk, full of snarles and incumbrances. Happy is he whose bottom is wound up and laid ready for work in the New Jerusalem. For my self, dear mother, I alwaies fear'd sickness more then death; because sickness hath made me unable to perform those offices for which I came into the world, and must yet be kept in it. But you are freed from that fear, who have already abundantly discharg'd that part, having both ordered your family, and so brought up your children, that they have attain'd to the years of discretion and competent maintenance. So that now if they do not well the fault cannot be charg'd on you—whose example and care of them will justifie you both to the world and your own conscience; in somuch that whether you turn your thoughts on the life past or on the joyes that are to come, you have strong preservatives against all disquiet. And for temporal afflictions, I beseech you consider all that can happen to you are either afflictions of estate or body or mind. For those of estate, of what poor regard ought they to be, since if we have riches we are commanded to give

them away: so that the best use of them is, having, not to have them. But perhaps, being above the common people, our credit and estimation calls on us to live in a more splendid fashion. But, oh God! how easily is that answered when we consider that the blessings in the Holy Scripture are never given to the rich, but to the poor! I never find 'Blessed be the rich,' or 'Blessed be the noble;' but 'Blessed be the meek,' and 'Blessed be the poor,' and 'Blessed be the mourners, for they shall be comforted.' And yet, oh God! most carry themselves so as if they not only not desir'd but even fear'd to be blessed. And for afflictions of the body, dear madam, remember the holy martyrs of God, how they have been burnt by thousands, and have endur'd such other tortures as the very mention of them might beget amazement; but their firy trials have had an end, and yours (which, praised be God, are less) are not like to continue long. I beseech you let such thoughts as these moderate your present fear and sorrow, and know that if any of yours should prove a Goliah-like trouble, yet you may say with David, 'That God who delivered me out of the paws of the lyon and bear will also deliver me out of the hands of this uncircumcised Philistin.' Lastly, for those afflictions of the soul, consider that God intends that to be as a sacred temple for Himself to dwell in, and will not allow any room there for such an in-mate as grief, or allow that any sadness shall be His competitor. And above all,

if any care of future things molest you, remember those admirable words of the Psalmist, 'Cast thy care on the Lord, and He shall nourish thee' (Psal. lv.). To which joyn that of St. Peter, 'Casting all your care on the Lord, for He careth for you' (1 Pet. v. 7). What an admirable thing is this, that God puts His shoulder to our burthen, and entertains our care for us, that we may the more quietly intend His service! To conclude, let me commend only one place more to you (Philip. iv. 4): St. Paul saith there, 'Rejoyce in the Lord alwaies; and again I say rejoyce.' He doubles it, to take away the scruple of those that might say, 'What, shall we rejoyce in afflictions?' Yes, I say again, rejoyce; so that it is not left to us to rejoyce or not rejoyce, but whatsoever befalls us we must alwaies, at all times, rejoyce in the Lord, Who taketh care for us. And it follows in the next verse: 'Let your moderation appear to all men; the Lord is at hand; be careful for nothing.' What can be said more comfortably? Trouble not yourselves; God is at hand to deliver us from all or in all. Dear madam, pardon my boldness, and accept the good meaning of

Your most obedient son,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Trin. Coll., May 29, 1622.

[Collated with edition of Walton's Life prefixed to 'The Temple' of 1679, pp. 21-23.]

13. To Nicholas Ferrar.

My exceeding dear Brother,

Although you have a much better Paymaster than myself, even Him Whom we both serve! yet I shall ever put your care of Leighton [Bromswold] upon my account, and give you myself for it, to be yours for ever. God knows I have desired a long time to do the place good, and have endeavoured many ways to find out a man for it. And now my gracious Lord God is pleased to give me you for the man I desired; for which I humbly thank Him, and am so far from giving you cause to apology about your counselling me herein, that I take it exceeding kindly of you. I refuse not advice from the meanest that creeps upon God's earth—no, not though the advice step so far as to be reproof; much less can I disesteem it from you, whom I esteem to be God's faithful and diligent servant, not considering you any other ways, as neither I myself desire to be considered. Particularly I like all your addresses, and, for ought I see, they are ever to be liked. [So he goes on in the discourse of the building the church in such and such a form as N. F. advised, and letting N. F. know all he had and would do to get moneys to proceed in it, and concludes thus:] You write very lovingly, that all your things are mine. If so, let this of Leighton Church the care be amongst the chiefest also; so also have I requested Mr. W[ood-

note] for his part. Now God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ bless you more and more, and so turn you all in your several ways one to the other, that ye may be a heavenly comfort, to His praise and the great joy of

Your brother and servant in Christ Jesus,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Postscript. As I had written thus much, I received a letter from my brother, Sir Henry H[erbert], of the blessed success that God had given us, by moving the duchess's* heart to an exceeding cheerfulness in signing 100*l.* with her own hands, and promising to get her son to do as much, with some little apology that she had done nothing in it (as my brother writes) hitherto. She referred it also to my brother to name at first what the sum should be; but he told her grace that he would by no means do so, urging that charity must be free. She liked our book well, and has given order to the tenants at Leighton to make payment of it. God Almighty prosper the work. Amen. [Nicholas Ferrar: two Lives by his brother John and by Doctor Jebb. Now first edited with illustrations. By J. E. B. Mayor, M.A. Cambridge (1855), pp. 84-6.]

* Catherine, only daughter and heir of Sir Gervase Clifton, Lord Clifton of Leighton Bromswold, married, 1st, in 1607, Esme Stuart, Lord d'Aubigny, who succeeded as third Duke of Lennox Feb. 16, 1623-24, but died July 30 following. She remarried James second Earl of Abercorn, retaining her title and rank of Duchess of Lennox; and died in 1637.

14. Ibid.

My dear Brother,

I thank you heartily for Leighton, your care, your counsel, your cost. And as I am glad for the thing, so no less glad for the heart that God has given you and yours to pious works. Blessed be my God and dear Master, the Spring and Fountain of all goodness. As for my assistance, doubt not, through God's blessing, but it shall be to the full; and for my power, I have sent my letters to your brother, investing him in all that I have. [And so he goes on in his advice for the ordering of things to that business.] [Ferrar, as before, p. 87.]

15. To the Right Hon. the Lady Anne, Countess of Pembroke and Montgomery, at Court.*

Madam,

What a trouble hath your goodness brought on you, by admitting our poor services! Now they creep in a vessel of metheglin, and still they will be presenting or wishing to see if at length they may find out some-

* Lady Anne Clifford, only surviving daughter of George third Earl of Cumberland, by Lady Margaret Russell, third daughter of Francis second Earl of Bedford. She was born Jan. 30, 1578; and married, 1st, Richard Sackville second Earl of Dorset; and 2dly, June 3, 1630, Philip Herbert fourth Earl of Pembroke and first of Montgomery. She is well remembered as the patroness of literary men and for her charities. She survived her second husband (from whom she separated), and died March 22, 1675-76.

thing not unworthy of those hands at which they aim. In the mean time a priest's blessing, though it be none of the court style, yet doubtless, madam, can do you no hurt: wherefore the Lord make good the blessing of your mother upon you, and cause all her wishes, diligence, prayers, and tears to bud, blow, and bear fruit in your soul, to His glory, your own good, and the great joy of, madam, your most faithful servant in Christ Jesu,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Dec. 10, 1631, Bemerton.

Madam, your poor colony of servants present their humble duties.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

[1] p. 478, Henry Herbert: see note [10], p. 102.

[2] p. 478, 'wink'=keep eyes half-open.

[3] p. 478, 'Be covetous,' &c.: cf. 'The Church Porch,' st. lv. l. 1, and relative note.

[4] p. 481, 'a third sister' Herbert received all his 'three' nieces to reside with him. See Life by Walton and Preface to the present volume.

[5] p. 482, 'outlandish:' see note prefixed to 'Jacula Prudentum.'

[6] p. 482, 'sick sister:' see note [10], p. 103. From this onward the letters are from Appendix to Walton's Life (1670).

[7] p. 483, 'Sir John Danvers:' see note [14], pp. 104, 105, also our Memorial-Introduction *in loco*. For a very sensational and mythical-looking account of the origin of the Danvers' ownership of Dauntsey, see that charming book, 'A Memoir of Charles Mayne Young, Tragedian: with Extracts from his Son's Journal' (1871), vol. ii. pp. 49-55.

[8] p. 484, 'horse-back'=a gift of a horse.

[9] p. 486, 'Lincoln journey:' no doubt to Leighton Bromswold.

[10] p. 489, 'Sir Francis Nethersole:' see note [21], pp. 105, 106.

[11] p. 489, 'Sir Benjamin Ruddyard:' the associate of the poet-statesman Earl of Pembroke, their united poems having been published together by the younger Donne. G.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

As usual, in the Notes and Illustrations explanations will as a rule be found of the respective words. It will reward to compare the same words and related notes in the Glossarial Index of the Poems (Vol. II.). G.

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POSTSCRIPT.

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

I HAVE to request the Reader to put the following 'slips' right, and to overlook and to look-over any others that may perchance occur. If he know what it is to have to do with the Press, he will not be hard to persuade to 'charity' towards Editor and Printers. In Vol. I. p. 20, st. xlv. is misprinted lxv. ; p. 83, l. 21, insert comma (,) after 'place ;' for the division at l. 25 perhaps the Saviour's answer ought to begin with : 'That is all ; if that (resignation) I could get without repining,' *i.e.* freely and fully made, and My clay, My creature, &c. ; p. 179, l. 41 should perhaps read :

> 'What for it self Love (not Self-love)=what for its own sake
> Love (divine) once began, Love and Truth will end ;'

cf. ll. 26-30 ; p. 182, 126. Joseph's Coat, l. 3, note the use of 'its ;' p. 183, ibid. l. 6, for His, query=its, referring to grief ? p. 194, 136. l. 1, insert 'away' after 'melt.' In Vol. II. p. xiii. l. 18, for 'Olar' read 'Olor ;' p. xli. quotation from Whaley (l. 5), read 'alight ;' p. xlii. for Lord Cherbury read Lord Herbert of Cherbury—an inexplicable mistake ; p. li. l. 8, for 'casceris' read 'carceris ;' p. liii. l. 8, 'Casanbon' for 'Causabon ;' p. lxvii. 'Nature's Delight' turns out to be the production of John Austin ; p. lxxv. l. 30, read 'and fly away with thee ;' p. 17, l. 8 from bottom read 'quick-sighted ;' p. xciii. read 'land' for 'shore' in Wordsworth ; p. cxxi. l. 23, for 'Cavalry' read 'Calvary ;' p. 88, the cut-off words are as follows :

. . . . . ne [terris]
. . . . . dab[untur]
. . . . . redean[t in aurum]
. . . . . pris[cum]
. . . . . ardo[r]

(see Horat. Carm. iv. 2, 37-40) ; p. 117, for 'perspective' read 'telescope.' See Note in this volume, p. xviii., for others. G.

END OF VOL. III.

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